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A Survey of the State of the Churches

SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN
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COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Edited by
HENRY SMITH LEIPER

With Foreword by
The Archbishop of Canterbury



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FOREWORD

The Archbishop of Canterbury

An evident condition of a fuller co-operation of the Churches of our Lord throughout the world is at least a rudimentary knowledge on the part of informed Christians as to what these Churches are, what they are doing, and how they fare in a critical period of the world's life.

The present volume is designed to supply that knowledge. Its authors have been asked to give the salient facts as to what happened to the Churches in their respective lands during the war and what has been their experience in the testing time which followed. Although the approach in each case represents the temperament and Churchmanship of the individual writer, there is a basic unity of objective; and all have sought to present their observations in the spirit of the Ecumenical Movement which has already made itself felt, as this book reveals, even in the outposts of world Christianity.

From such a survey of what is taking place in the far-flung fellowship, one comes to understand both similarities and differences in contemporary Christian experience. It is only thus that the many divided strands of the one Church Universal are to be seen in their juxtaposition and relationships.

In general, there are two ready classifications which occur to any thoughtful person. There are those Churches which have come out of tribulation and persecution into a time of rehabilitation and revival. On the other hand, there are those whose

Not it has been to escape the sufferings and rigors which have tried the souls of so many of our fellow-Christians throughout the earth. There is something which those belonging to either category can learn from those in the other.

It is noteworthy that over one hundred of the separate Churches now belong to the one fellowship of the World Council. And it is appropriate that this symposium should have been sponsored by the American Committee for the World Council. But it is not a story of organization that unfolds in these thirty-eight chapters. It is a spiritual development of great magnitude and startling diversity. Particularly striking are the contrasts between what happened to the Churches in occupied China and what took place in so-called "free" China—to which so many Churches, colleges, and other Christian institutions fled from the face of the advancing enemy.

Another part of the story which is particularly striking has to do with the developments in Eastern Orthodox life within the Russian orbit and among the diaspora, or scattered exile branches of the Church in both Europe and America.

It is safe to say that from the study of such facts as appear in this broad survey the reader will derive not only information but inspiration. He will be sobered by the story of the colossal losses which the Church has sustained in many parts of the world. But, at the same time, he will be given new hope when he is confronted by the heroic recital of modern martyrdom and its power to enlist new and creative consecration to the way of the Cross and to Him who is now as always the One Lord of the whole Church.

One ventures to hope that this book may be widely read and may find its way into all the important libraries of the world for the use of those who seek to know what our continental brethren call the existential Church.

GEOFFREY CANTUAR:

INTRODUCTION

Henry Smith Leiper, Editor

With the coming of the atomic age the importance of emphasis on world Christianity has enormously increased. On every hand, scientists, statesmen, and military leaders declare that it is now "one world or none." General MacArthur has said: "We have had our last chance to win a new world by force. . . . It is now a theological question." Even those practical politicians who declare that it is impossible to have world government now say privately if not publicly that there is no other ultimate hope of a world order which could bring peace. And the misgivings which lead many convinced advocates of ultimate world government to admit that it is not yet practical grow out of the fact that they know a common ethical and moral purpose must undergird any such undertaking if it is not to fail.

A unique thing about Christianity in our kind of world is that, for the first time in its two thousand years of history, it is world-wide—claiming members in all but one or two nations. There are Churches in all world capitals save two. Indeed, Christianity is the only organized human fellowship or interest that has ever been world-wide.

But the discouraging fact is that the average Christian is not aware of the world groupings of those who acknowledge a common Lord. This lack of awareness is due in part to ignorance. Most well-educated Christians know next to nothing

about the state of the Church outside of their own country, or, if they do know something, their knowledge usually extends only to Churches of their own denomination. Since no denominational set-up includes all the world, this means at best a very partial acquaintance with the potential world Christian community.

The growing concern for world Christianity, which is a striking characteristic of alert and representative Christians today, suggests the value of some convenient survey of the main trends within the world-wide fellowship of those who are known by Christ's name.

As the late William Temple pointed out at his enthronement as Archbishop of Canterbury, this is "the great fact of our time—this world-wide Christian fellowship, this Ecumenical Movement." If the emotion which underlies the movement is to be sustained and its purposes progressively realized, Christians need knowledge of outstanding developments in every one of the more than seventy-five nations where the Church is at work today. Yet to produce such a survey as would give accurate, detailed, and balanced summaries of all the relevant facts about even the non-Roman Churches of our time would be a monumental task. And when it had been performed the resulting volumes would be so bulky that few would have the courage to try to read them!

The present volume is not an attempt to be exhaustive or to cover the whole world adequately. In planning it, the editor sought rather to secure authoritative summaries of fact and opinion from persons in each of forty-two nations or areas. Because of the nature of the organized Christian Church and its current status, no one scheme of treatment could be followed. Each of the writers, however, was asked to have in mind a definite set of questions as he approached his task. Chief among these questions are the following: How has organized Christi-

anity emerged from the war in your country? What outstanding changes do you note? Is there more (or less) tendency to co-operation and unity of spirit? What about leadership—old and new? Is there more (or less) lay leadership? What is happening in the publication of Christian literature, distribution of the Bible, development of missionary work, and rebuilding of youth work? How far are the Churches conscious of their partnership in the Ecumenical Movement? What changes in viewpoint have come as a result of the difficulties of the war years and the dawning of the atomic age? Can you venture a prediction as to probable future developments in the Churches of your country? Does religious liberty seem assured? If not, what are the chief threats to it, in your judgment? Less prominent in the list of questions, but still important, is the one having to do with the size and character of the non-Roman Christian community in each area.

It had been the thought of the editor to include a chapter on the important question of the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and ecumenical developments among the Protestant and Orthodox communions. A distinguished Roman Catholic scholar had agreed to write such a chapter from the point of view of Rome, but at the last minute he sorrowfully confessed that he found himself prevented from doing it. Since there is no single or authoritative viewpoint among non-Roman Christians with respect to Rome, it seemed useless to try to include a chapter attempting to review the question of relationships from the side of the non-Roman Churches.

The reader will often find himself puzzled over different figures given as to the Church membership in various countries. It must be remembered that none of the figures which can be secured from many parts of the world are up to date. And it is also necessary to remember that highly diversified methods

are followed in reporting membership: so that even where figures are given they can be regarded only as indicating general trends. When it is recalled that almost ten per cent of the whole human race has moved—permanently or temporarily—during the period of the war, another major difficulty becomes apparent for the statistician. Too much must not be expected of him!

Limitations of space are very rigorous in such a book as this one. It will be apparent to any reader that the author who is asked to sketch current developments in such a country as the United States in about three thousand words is handling an almost impossible assignment. This is one reason why very little is said in most reports about theological developments and trends. No one can doubt their importance or their relevance. But for authoritative and adequate treatment of such complex matters, a library of books would be required. Happily, many of them are available and should be consulted by any interested reader who wishes to go beyond the general institutional developments to the underlying ideas characterizing the Church today in a rapidly changing world where thought as well as life is in flux.

It should be noted that the author for one country—Spain—felt it necessary to write under a *nom de plume*. The reasons ought not to be obscure to any one who knows even a little about the attitude and practice of the present government and the Roman Church in that unhappy country where the Protestant minority has suffered and is suffering persecution and violence in many forms.

A further cautionary word must be spoken with respect to the story of the younger Churches, i.e., those that have grown up as the result of the modern missionary expansion of the last century and a half. Their number is great, their status diverse, their spread enormous, and their importance obvious. But an

adequate treatment of them would require a vastly greater amount of space than could be assigned. Happily, there is available adequate literature concerning their growth and present development so that no interested reader need lack means of securing ample information concerning them.

The editor wishes to record his deep appreciation of the fine co-operation of the writers of the various chapters who are contributing their work without financial reward. He is much indebted to Miss Louise Schultz of the American Committee for the World Council who has cared for numerous details involved in the production of such a survey, and to the publishers, Morehouse-Gorham Co., whose interest and co-operation have been invaluable. The profit on sales which would ordinarily go to the editor or authors has been assigned to the benefit of the World Council of Churches; and the official sponsorship of the volume has been undertaken by the American Committee for the World Council, whose office and staff have co-operated in many and valuable ways to its production.

H. S. L.

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I

CONTINENTAL EUROPE

I

FRANCE

M. Seydoux

FRANCE, Christian citadel from time immemorial, has ever possessed spirits open to new ideas. It is therefore not astonishing that, from the day of its appearance, the Reformation should have aroused the enthusiasm of a notable portion of the population in various regions and diverse social strata.

But two hundred and fifty years of persecutions and a half-century of greater or less constraint, aggravated by several wars, at last checked the progress of the new faith and reduced its human potentialities.

Before the war, it was estimated that for the country at large there was one Protestant for every forty Frenchmen. This proportion seems at present raised a little. The regions where Protestant density is greatest are: the periphery of the Central Massif (west, south, and southeast), Alsace, and the country of Montbéliard, to which must be added the numerous parishes of the north, the great cities, and several other vigorous nuclei whose numerical importance, however, is very limited. The proportion of the disseminated groups is important.

The Protestants belong to different Communion as follows:

60%—Reformed Church of France (France in general)

25%—Lutheran (Alsace, Lorraine, Montbéliard above all,
and the Parisian area)

4%—Baptist (above all in the north and east)

11%—Evangelical Reformed (not attached to the Protestant Federation of France. Methodists, Free, etc.)

The percentages are figured according to the number of active pastors and auxiliary personnel.

Several other Communiones of no special importance complete the picture of the non-Roman Christian Church in France.

Since 1905, the Churches have been totally separated from the State and as a result do not receive any support whatever from it (except in Alsace-Lorraine, where the Concordat continues in force but without doubt may soon lapse; the Concordat-Churches represent about twenty-five per cent of French Protestantism).

French Protestantism is not the negligible factor which might be assumed from its numerical significance. Actually, according to a survey dating from several years back, the Christians of France number only about eight million (out of a total population of thirty-nine to forty million) and the Protestants who declare themselves, at least by participation in baptismal, marriage, and interment rites, would be about 700,000, representing, even so, about one-twelfth of the Christian population.

Moreover, Protestants frequently hold places of influence in the life of the country; they may be found in the government, in high administrative posts, in the magistracy, in universities, as well as in the banks, in commerce and industry. And it is noteworthy that the adherence to Protestantism among the working class is generally accompanied by a rise in the social scale.

Finally, the French Protestant, more liberal because of his individualism than his Catholic brethren, is often in the vanguard of innovations. For these reasons, he has a construc-

tive influence on the country as a whole, even on the Catholic Church. This does not mean, however, that, conversely, Catholicism does not also have an influence on French Protestantism.

After the First World War, French Protestantism felt a strong wave of renewal. Abandoning a certain narrow romanticism, it took more into account the unity of the Bible message in the personality of Christ; community consciousness awoke; the isolation and in consequence the responsibilities of the pastoral function underwent a change; that is to say, the laity and the ministry felt increasingly the usefulness of sharing the pastoral responsibilities. The Christian way of life, which seemed to many of the faithful distinct from that of business, for example, tended to draw their activities into an entity.

The last war has clearly developed these ideas and it is remarkable to be able to say that, as could readily be observed at the General Assembly of the Protestant Churches at Nîmes, October, 1945, this orientation was common both to the Churches of the country and to those of "the captivity." During the war, the dearth of pastors and the *rapprochement* of human beings under a common yoke of suffering drove the laity to take in hand certain parishes or communities.

The importance of the rôle of the laymen in the Church had already been foreseen in the past, usually after a war, but it seems that new conditions furnish to the present awakening more chances of success.

The French Church has too often been content, everything considered, to preserve and guard the faith of believers more or less lukewarm. Today, evangelization appears more clearly a necessity; to proclaim, to witness—these have certainly become the most pressing needs. If their realization is local and altogether inadequate in the whole situation, one must seek the cause in the lack of personnel trained for this work, in the

insufficient meetings, and in the shortages cruelly accentuated by devastation, the devaluation of funds, and the difficulty of securing equipment.

Nevertheless, new enterprises and wide-spread efforts are making themselves felt; some parishes, especially in areas where workingmen live, have doubled their membership; publications and periodicals have been created and expanded; youth work is developing (the vitality of *Cimade* is a well-known example); several associations and groups have sprung up and are working effectively (local teams, family groups, etc.).

Welfare work (vacation colonies, asylums, orphanages, and hospitals) often confronts tragic difficulties, but already many of them have renewed their activity and are seeking to expand their work.

The French Inter-Church Aid Committee, thanks to its receipts in cash and kind, collected solely in France, has for the past six years been able to attain, little by little, its self-imposed objectives.

But all these activities must be considered as more or less independent of one another and not as forming part of an overall plan.

For the reconstruction of some 300 buildings destroyed by the war, up till now only attempts at clearing away the debris have been permitted. Foreign help, especially from the World Council of Churches and the great foreign Churches, has already been manifested in the form of gifts of prefabricated huts, shipments of various materials, and often of money. But the fact remains that, for the reconstruction and reequipment of buildings, above all in the east, north, on the west coast, and in the lower valley of the Rhone, the requirements are estimated at a billion francs (val. 1945), and no one knows whether or not the State will be able to subsidize a part of the rebuild-

ing, as it intends to do. For new construction and expansion, at least a like sum is necessary. To raise the salaries of the pastors, for the reequipping of halls damaged or antiquated, and even for the renewal and improvement of study materials, for the general reorganization of all activities, there are still tens of millions to be found.

It may be understood from this that French Protestantism has very heavy burdens. We have mentioned that the State grants no salary subsidies, that the number of pastors needed (1,000) is very great in comparison with what it might be in other countries for a comparable number of believers. This is due to the dispersion of the Protestants over the whole territory. Many parishes have a rather small membership but cover a wide field of relatively thin population. To the salaries of the pastors must be added the support of candidates for the ministry who have not yet been ordained, evangelists and parish assistants (140 in all), and the pensions of pastors (280) and widows of pastors.

Not only the salaries and compensations for personnel represent increased expenses, but the maintenance of numerous churches and manses and the costs of removals, and general costs are high relative to the number of Christians who must share them.

Perhaps the ministry has not always known how to awaken all the interest that the faithful should have in their Church; at any rate, the number of believers aware of their financial obligations is certainly very limited, and those who understand their responsibilities are solicited from too many sides and cannot augment their offerings in proportion to the increase in expenses. Education in stewardship for the entire membership is therefore indispensable.

The progress of the Ecumenical Movement in France is not negligible; its spirit is already living in certain youth move-

ments; but progress would be far more rapid if the diffusion of the idea were greater in volume. Our periodicals have not the circulation which they ought to have, largely for financial reasons, because the readers' buying power is low. There is perhaps another reason: Those who think, and those who have something to say, do not always know how to put themselves in the place of the readers, reply to the questions which readers ask themselves, and so form the liaison between these problems and the solutions proposed.

French Protestantism cannot conceive that it must abandon positions formerly won. It has not the right to disappoint or to retreat. It will make progress in the realm of thought; the movement of ideas is lively. But it will not truly flourish and bear fruit unless its labors are sustained by contacts with thinkers abroad, and by the exchange of writings and experiences.

French Protestantism will also make progress in the sense of the penetration of the spirits of its members and in the coordination of activities, yet, without doubt, more slowly because of the material difficulties increased by ever-present individualism.

Other difficulties confront us: (1) There is a dearth of directors. (2) The high cost of living for students and future leaders is discouraging. (3) Dechristianization has resulted from the dire instability of dwellings, the influence of adverse ideologies and, more generally, from the demoralization which was the consequence of the occupation and the confusion which followed it. (4) The insecurity of the years ahead and the renewed apprehension of possible crises impel too many people to seek immediate pleasures without worrying about building for the future and freeing it of the debts and liabilities which are accumulating. (5) The difficulties of organizing are great. We have spoken of individualism; added to that is a certain nervous fatigue. For a long time, the immediate, pressing cares

have absorbed all our thoughts and do not permit leaders to make decisions nor to formulate plans and strategy for the coming years.

We are living in a period where we must exert ourselves to prolong life from day to day, to endure, and we grope ahead into the future.

Another difficulty lies in the problem of population: not only because births are insufficient, but because there are many mixed marriages whose children will not be Protestant; and further, because there continue to be marked shifts of population (reflecting especially the call of the cities); certain parishes are disintegrating, new ones should be created.

Alongside these difficulties, reasons for hopefulness should also be noted: Calls to the ministry are more numerous in spite of the wretched salaries of pastors nowadays. Noticeable also are increased lay dedication, a thirst for instruction, for training, and a desire to work for the Church in one way or another. Among our youth movements, it is remarkable to see the gravity and at the same time the enthusiasm for everything that could serve in the evangelization of the country.

Finally, there is the confidence (which looks like temerity in the face of the ruins and all manner of obstacles) that has been shown and is being shown in certain Protestant groups and among those responsible for institutions and other welfare work, a confidence which cannot but prove the latent vitality in French Protestantism. The sympathy and the respect which we inspire in different circles is also a hopeful factor. The ill-will—not to say more—with which other circles oppose us incites to counter-organization and defense, since we do not put our trust in the world but in Him who rules and reigns over it.

In conclusion, we would say that French Protestantism has need of expansion and affirmation. It knows its weaknesses and

hindrances, but it is also taking more and more cognizance of its mission and its responsibilities.

Protestantism may have given the impression of poverty. It believes, however, that it has in the past made its contribution to the progress of evangelization. Today it endeavors, in spite of grievous wounds, to take a new lease on life; it hopes to receive help in order that it may again be able to give help.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

E. Emmen

THE NETHERLANDS, that tiny little spot in the North Sea, is a country where the Reformation, especially as shaped by Luther and Calvin, has been very significant. Thankfully, we remember the strength of our Calvinistic ancestors, who had the privilege of seeing the results of their struggle for freedom and independence.

In the course of the centuries, all sorts of views have had their influence on the Dutch people. In close relation with the surrounding countries, the Netherlands have experienced the influence of the French as well as the German revolution. The one original, established Reformed Church had to cope with all kinds of difficulties, especially in the twentieth century; the consequence was that separated groups originated.

In recent years, the Roman Catholic Church has won influence and has gained an important place in Dutch life. We do not forget, however, that many people have turned aside entirely from all Churches and live outside any ecclesiastical relationships. Nearly three million belong to the Roman Catholic Church, another three million to the Netherlands Reformed Church (from the time of the Reformation, 1568), 600,000 to the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (separated from the first in 1886; leader, Dr. A. Kuyper), 50,000 to the Christian Re-Formed Church (separated from the first, 1834; leader, H. de Cock), 30,000 to the Remonstrant Brother-

hood, (separated from the first, 1618); 34,000 to the Lutheran Churches; 60,000 to the Mennonite Brotherhood; 60,000 to the Baptist Brotherhood; and 10,000 to the Old Catholics. The total number of inhabitants is nine million.

The Church in the Netherlands is thus divided even as the Dutch landscape is cut up by all sorts of canals and rivers. On the one hand, this gives proof of a very special interest in Church life: serious questions were at stake which people confronted in the light of the Gospel. But, on the other hand, great conflicts divide the Christians in the Netherlands. Their separation is typical of the lowlands near the sea!

Furthermore, the fact that large groups have turned their backs on the Church must move us. We find these groups among all classes of people, among workers, farmers, intellectuals. As one of the causes of this antipathy, we may mention the fact that there was, for a long time, a great lack of penetration by the Church into all the aspects of Dutch life; we often could not find the way to unity. Materialism, Marxism, and Idealism in many forms are movements which collided critically and even totally with the life according to the Word of God. On the part of the Churches and Christian groups, great actions have now begun to link Christian work with the domain of schools, trade-unions, youth work, and so forth.

A most important new development was caused by the war of '40-'45. We all stood against the same enemy. There was not only a military usurpation. The enemy brought with him the National-Socialist's total non-Christian view of the world. Slowly but surely the Netherlands, occupied by Germany, fell prey to heathen powers, which tried to destroy all spiritual and moral foundations. In this great struggle, the Churches began to understand *their common vocation*. Thus developed real co-operation, expressed in the Inter-Church Council (*Inter-Kerkelijk-Overleg*, I.K.O.).

In this co-operation, all the great Churches were concerned, but a wider Protestant co-operation arose apart from it. We have to consider this as an important contribution to spiritual resistance during the war. To mention but one name, Dr. K. H. E. Gravemeyer was, during the war, Secretary of the *Algemeene Synode* of the Netherlands Reformed Church. With other members of synod and Church, Dr. Gravemeyer especially exercised driving power in the opposition. From this circle, certain messages and important protestations against the occupying power emanated. For example, the declaration that "national-socialism is in flagrant opposition to the Gospel of Jesus Christ." There were also protests against the persecution and sterilizing of the Jews, against compulsory labor in Germany, and other abuses. One may state that in this way the Churches have found each other and have realized their common responsibility.

In the same way, the members of the Churches found that they could support each other under attack of the enemy. But among all classes of people, even those formerly hostile, appreciation of the behavior of the Churches developed. For, in the opposition, the Churches stood up for the high spiritual conceptions: freedom of conscience, resistance to oppression, charity, faith, and confession. The sufferings during the war proved a blessing for many people.

It is understandable that after the war the Churches began the task of the restoration of ecumenical co-operation with thankfulness. Though all of them have not yet definitively joined, the ecumenical *rapprochement* advances joyfully in a new way and there is a chance that most Churches will find themselves in permanent relationship. This co-operation takes place on the basis of the World Council of Churches at Geneva. It is true that the Roman Catholic Church perseveres in its isolation; but when important matters are at stake, there is

always more consultation among the parties concerned. It is a matter of first importance that, in this period where we see such an enormous decadence, something like the hope of living fellowship becomes a thing of reality in all the Churches.

In general, we realize that during these last few years, especially in the larger Churches, the *actuality of preaching* has been again in the center. The Nazis have always emphasized that "the Church had to meddle only with soul and eternity, but anything with which life now is concerned, practical life, social arrangements, had to be left to the State." In this way, these enemies tried to despoil the Church of its prophetic mission. Thanks to Calvinistic influences, the Church tried to resist this temptation. The Word of God has to do not only with soul and eternity, but with the life here on earth in all its aspects as well. "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." We can affirm that, in general, the Church has anew confessed and revealed its prophetic mission in the midst of all trials. This means that we had to bear witness to Jesus Christ as Lord of the world whose commandments in public life have to be obeyed.

Under this Lord, the idols of this present time were judged; and under this Lord the whole of life came to judgment. The Christian life itself, troubled by sinful confusions, was brought back to the order of God. The appeal for conversion and belief concerns the whole Church and the whole people. With respect to the "actuality" of this preaching, actual problems have come up for discussion in many special preaching services during recent years, in many cases on Sunday evenings. Questions such as "Is God love?", "Has God a plan for the world?", "How do we find the unity of the Church?", "What is our vocation in society?" were dealt with, under the light of the Gospel.

We are very thankful that a great interest in this type of preaching arose. In the need and distress of the people, the

word of the Church proved again to be important. Besides, it must be stated that particular attention was paid to personal religious life. The Bible was put in the center once again; in many congregations, people met in Bible circles; very different kinds of people, who wished to inquire and to ponder in their hearts the answer of the Bible to actual questions of life. When we hear the stories of people who spent time in prisons, concentration camps, and forced-labor camps, we have a very clear example of the importance of this trend. In the midst of many sufferings and with all sorts of human securities demolished, the Gospel renewed and restored us. People of all kinds found support and comfort in it. Then, as we have implied, even the separations of the Churches disappeared for a moment.

During these last few years, the Churches have been charged with a particular responsibility. When all sorts of Christian work was becoming impossible, people asked the Churches for help. Independent youth work in Christian circles became possible only when the Church undertook responsibility. During the war much youth work, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and so on, was continued and inspired in close co-operation with responsible leaders of the Churches. This *rapprochement* was important for both sides. In the Churches, there came something of new life, a new concern, and a new opportunity. In circles of youth, workers, and intellectuals, something of the value of practical preaching became abundantly clear.

It is still a question how this spiritual gain can be preserved for the future. It is a very great responsibility to confront all kinds of open doors. In this respect we have to consider that, after the liberation, human inclination does tend to pre-war situations and to the restoration of former groupings; yet the question has urgency if (thanks to common experiences of Church and people) we have to meet each other again and

again in the midst of a chaotic world. Spiritual events of the past are not without permanent influence in the present. It is important to note that, in the above-mentioned meetings, not only clergymen, but especially laymen, were concerned. Community members belonging to all classes came to the front. They were instructed in all kinds of study groups and they contributed to the awakening of Christian consciousness, while their witness had likewise a missionary influence. In this respect, we think especially of many intellectuals and of the action of Christian students who held important places in the Churches. It is evident that in this way new perspectives manifest themselves for the Church.

The Church itself has, however, its great mistakes and lacks. In the Church we often see traditionalism and isolationism and pharisaism, which need to be brought under Gospel judgment in a prophetic way. Especially in the Netherlands, we were very clever in entrenching ourselves in theological theorems and in fighting with the help of our own ideas. The conflict between secularist convictions and Christian conscience has often seriously impaired the Christian witness in the Netherlands. May we expect that the religious lessons of the war (which demanded new trends, a new acceptance of responsibility toward each other, a new freedom for the Gospel in the world of today) will influence the further development of the Church in the Netherlands? We must not fail to point out the important fact that in the so-called neutral and socialistic movement as well, Christians have taken their places.

As a consequence of these developments, a situation has arisen in which all sorts of Christian groups stand over against more general movements; but, nevertheless, the war gave us a new view of the unity of the people. We have the great vocation to bring the children in so-called "public" elementary schools into contact with the Gospel. In the world of the trade-

unions, we have to build only upon the true foundation of the Word of God, His righteousness and mercy, and to witness as Churches of Christ in all social circles. We can only so meet the dangerous influences of a culture estranged from God. The Churches have likewise understood anew the meaning of government as the servant of God. One can not get a good picture of the Churches in the Netherlands, if these facts are left out of consideration.

During and since the war, we have had to think especially of *the work of the Churches for all people* in distress. Simultaneously, with spiritual resistance, the Churches knew that they were called to help those who had to flee from the enemy. Great amounts have been collected to provide the Underground with the necessities of life, to send parcels to the young men who had to do forced labor in the enemy country, and to help—be it in ever so modest a way—those who suffered in prisons and concentration camps. For the sake of the prisoners, a special newspaper was edited, *De Kerkpost* (*The Church Post*), which was sent across the frontiers in thousands of numbers. The Church people were ready for great open-handedness. Similar work was also done for the people of Israel; a great number of Jews hid with the help of friends and their families.

Now, since the war, the special attention of the Churches has been directed to the spiritual care of our soldiers. This care consists of providing preachers for Army and Navy and preparing Christian military literature.

The story would be incomplete if we did not add some mention of the action of the Churches in providing emergency food supplies. In the terrible winter of hunger, the Churches had the opportunity (thanks to a splendid co-operation) to collect sorely needed provisions. All that had been hidden from the enemy was offered for this Christian action, so that the

population, especially children and old people, would not perish. This action had the watchword "The whole Church for the whole people." Enormous amounts of provisions appeared and thousands were helped.

It stands to reason that, during the war, very many church buildings and a great many other Christian institutions were damaged. This damage amounts to many millions of guilders. Although we are very grateful for the emergency foreign help that has reached us, there is yet an anxiousness in ecclesiastical circles to undertake permanent reconstruction as soon as possible. We must make people ready for a spontaneous open-handedness to support the work of the Church. More definitely than ever, we realize that, in a world in such chaos, the Church has the task to make her proclamations in a clear and comprehensible way. This is an impossibility without the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The Church's responsibility involves an attempt to win to Christ especially those who were idealistic followers of the national-socialist ideas, but have discovered their mistakes and are eager to begin anew. New attention is also being paid to family life; for this purpose, social work offices with an important staff of workers have been founded in many congregations.

In various Churches, a strong tendency to stress evangelization has become evident. All kinds of services were begun, and must be continued. It is obvious that in this work many ordinary lay members are concerned. As far as the Netherlands Reformed Church is concerned, the Foundation "Church and World" at Driebergen was especially erected, so that workers in all kinds of lay ecclesiastical work could be trained. Members of other Churches can also share these training facilities. Young people are trained here to become youth leaders, social workers, teachers of religion (in the schools), and so on. The

intention is that these people, when well trained, will work in teams as much as possible. The Foundation "Church and World" promises to become an important energizing center for the Church in Holland.

All of these things are very important because in the Netherlands, as elsewhere, the tidal wave of paganism has swallowed many religious and moral certainties. The Churches see the distress of nihilism. They know that they have been called not only to be on the defensive, but to take the offensive. The Protestant Churches have accepted anew the weapons of their fathers in this fateful spiritual struggle: the Word of God, as the sword of the Spirit. Preaching the Gospel means the conversion of the individual and of the people.

For Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world and the Lord of the Church, has been given "all power in Heaven and on earth."

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

FINLAND

Toivo Harjunpää

THE CHRISTIAN Churches in Finland have suffered greatly through the war. Several dozens of the churches, parish-halls, and parsonages have been lost completely, or have suffered extensive damage through the war. The established Lutheran Church (including ninety-six per cent of the population of Finland) has suffered its greatest material losses in North Finland, where most of the church buildings were destroyed by the Germans. Through the 1944 Armistice, Finland has lost a considerable part of territory in Carelia, including, of course, all the Church property in this area. The Carelian people, numbering nearly a half-million, were evacuated to other parts of Finland. The church work amongst Carelians suffers through the fact that it has not been possible to reestablish the former Carelian parishes as such, because most of these people are farming people and must, therefore, be given new land from widely scattered areas, for which purpose an extensive land reform is now being worked out. This arrangement affects also the financial position of the Lutheran Church very greatly. The Church must now give up everywhere nearly all of its land property for the benefit of the evacuated Carelians.

The loss of Carelia has particularly severely affected the Greek Orthodox Church of Finland (numbering about 80,000 people), which was almost entirely situated in the lost province, and, financially, depended largely on its land-property. These people are also evacuated to nearly all parts of Finland and are facing great difficulties. Under such circumstances, the spiritual work of the Orthodox Church is faced with immense difficulties as organized parish life is denied to most of its people and as the Church itself is so impoverished that it can finance its work only to a limited extent in the new conditions. The Free Churches (Methodist, Baptist, Covenant Movement) are not so large in Finland as, for instance, in Sweden. In 1940, there were a little over 10,000 members of the Free Churches in Finland. But it is fair to say that their influence is greater than one would perhaps expect on account of their small number. Many people who officially belong to the Lutheran Church attend regularly the vigorous evangelistic meetings of the Free Churches. These Churches have likewise lost through the war some of their chapels. The Salvation Army is doing effective and appreciated evangelistic and social work in several towns. This organization has also suffered some losses through the war. The large majority of Salvation Army people belongs officially to the Lutheran Church and receive the Holy Communion there.

The economic position of Finland is greatly influenced by the fact that that country has lost the war and must now pay heavy reparations, as is seen, for example, in the great fall in the value of the Finnish currency. Many parishes and congregations find it increasingly difficult to pay sufficient salaries to their clergy and other officials. Specially pitiable is the financial position of the widows and orphaned children of the clergy. With deep gratitude have the Finnish Churches received support for these purposes through the World Council of

Churches, chiefly from America. Particularly valuable have been the gifts in food and clothing which Christian brethren, mainly from America, have sent to Finland, which have been distributed to all denominations to needy people all over the country. Very valuable has been also the help in many forms from Sweden. Of this may be mentioned the putting up of small temporary church barracks in Lapland. Numerous Finnish people have been received and cared for in Swedish homes during the war and after. Although the Finnish Churches must now depend on outside help, and are profoundly grateful for it, all Christian people, at the same time, are doing their utmost to help themselves to rebuild their destroyed churches. A wide and vigorous campaign is now going on all over the country for the rebuilding of the churches in North Finland. Many examples of a fine spirit of sacrifice could be mentioned.

The prolonged and lost war has had a deep and bad effect on the morals of many people, particularly on young people. Many came back from the war bewildered and disappointed and without any high ideals or faith. Drinking and immorality have, during, and especially since, the war, increased alarmingly. The rebuilding of morality is the supreme task of the Finnish Churches today. Its urgency and extreme difficulties are fully realized by the Churches, especially by the younger clergy, who, through the long war years, shared the hardships with the fighting men at the front. They realized in an entirely new way how large a number of men were almost entirely out of touch with the teaching of the Church to which they nominally belonged. Many pastors were, nevertheless, able to discover that in spite of their indifference or in some cases even hostility to the Church, there were hidden religious needs in their hearts. The younger clergy have, after the war, strongly emphasized the need of new fields and forms for the evan-

gelistic work of the Churches. Especially are the Christian laypeople being urged to take an increasingly active part in the work of the Church, and are warmly supported in this by the highest Church authorities.

In order to provide effective training for the many-sided activities of the modern Church, a Parish Training Institute has been established at Järvenpää near Helsinki. There are held shorter and longer courses for Church work of all kinds, especially for laymen. Christian People's Colleges, the model for which has been borrowed from Denmark, are greatly favored in Finland. In these schools, young people are taught in a definitely Christian spirit for a period of six months. The contribution of these schools to the uplifting of the moral and religious standards of the people is very great. Unfortunately many of these schools are now in financial difficulties and can accept only part of the youth who are anxious to attend.

As an encouraging sign that the Church realizes its responsibilities it may be noted that many parishes have appointed special youth chaplains to organize and conduct a vigorous youth work in the parishes. Especial diocesan chaplains for the same purpose as well as for Sunday School work and social work have been appointed for every six dioceses of the Church of Finland. There has, for a long time, existed a gulf between the Church and the industrial workers. But there are now encouraging signs of closer understanding between the two. In this connection, one may say the war has done a good service. Some time ago, a Christian Socialist Party was formed and has met with considerable success. The chairman of the party is one of our leading theologians, Prof. Y. Alanen. The leaders of the Church, too, have emphasized the social tasks of the Church strongly.

The years after the war have shown a remarkable increase

in the publication of religious literature of all kinds. And it is an encouraging sign to see how much religious literature is being read in Finland. In addition to the already existing three leading religious weekly papers, there now is being published a new weekly paper, which is strongly evangelistic and emphasizes the need of co-operation with all Christians. This paper has met with a tremendous success. Concerning the Bible distribution, the situation has not been satisfactory during the past years. Finland has lost through the war an excellent Bible printing-house with all its machinery. Therefore, it has not been possible to secure enough Bibles in Finland recently. It is hoped here that new machinery and binding material can be obtained from America through the United Bible Societies. The Finnish Bible Society, which was founded in 1812, is now making future plans for an effective Bible campaign. All denominations in Finland are united in it and the Finnish Bible Society is also a member of the United Bible Societies.

The fact that the Churches in many lands have come to our aid by sending valuable help has aroused interest among the Christian people in Finland in the world-wide Church and Ecumenical Movement. The visits of many foreign Churchmen to Finland have also had a good effect in this respect. Finnish Churchmen have recently had opportunities to visit other Churches and establish valuable and fruitful ecumenical contacts. It is a blessing to the Church of Finland that it has, at this particular time, as Archbishop, Dr. Aleksi Lehtonen, who has been a well-known figure in the Ecumenical Movement ever since the days of the Lausanne Conference.

In spite of the many difficulties which we are facing today in Finland, we have faith in God that, with His help, we will overcome difficulties and be more able to serve our people with the eternal Gospel of Christ.

DENMARK

A. M. Jorgensen

AT THE end of the war, the Church of Denmark stood firmly rooted in the consciousness of the Danish people. For during the hard years of occupation the Church had declared its solidarity with the whole of the Danish people in the struggle for Right against Wrong; indeed, for many years, the Danish pulpits were the places from which was heard the strongest and most outspoken language. Even if it did not come to open conflict with the Church in Denmark—results in other occupied lands intimidated the German occupation authorities—yet the Church had on many occasions protested intrepidly and emphatically against the German aggression. Against the persecutions of the Jews and the entire iniquitous behavior of the Germans, the voice of the Church had been clearly and distinctly heard through the bishops' pastoral letters and addresses of protest, and they were supported not only by the congregations but by the whole population.

The Church of Denmark also had its martyrs; many Danish clergymen went to the German concentration camps, whence some of them did not return; and the great dramatist and cleric, Kaj Munk, fell at the hand of a German murderer as the result of his courageous preaching.

Through the common resistance movement, clergy and laity established personal contacts far beyond the limits of the congregations. To this favorable position vis-a-vis the people and the general consciousness, the Church of Denmark could, after the capitulation, add the further advantage that its entire organization was intact. It was, according to the Constitution, still in receipt of economic support from the State, the leading

Danish Churchmen were at their posts, and at the thanksgiving services in all the churches of Denmark on May 5th, 1945, the congregations gave thanks to the Lord of the Church not only for peace, but also for the wonderful defence of the Church during the war.

It can not be said that the position now held by the Church in Denmark—two years after the capitulation—is as favorable as when peace came. It has not proved possible to maintain the broader contact with non-Church-minded strata of the population. The revival that was hoped for inside the Church has failed to come about; and, if one reviews in a spiritual sense the position of the Church today, it must be said that those members of the congregations that had little have lost the little they had, while those that had more have received more. The people at the periphery have fallen away, whereas the people in the center of the congregations have been strengthened in their faith. As regards veneration for the Church among a wider public, it may be said to be declining, and in part is replaced by animosity and opposition toward the Church in secularized political and cultural circles. Especially in the sphere of the school has the Church noticed these antireligious currents, efforts having been made by the Left political party in Denmark to place obstacles in the way of Church supervision of religious teaching in the State schools. This and other questions have led certain circles within the Church of Denmark to consider whether the matter of the position of the Church and its dependence upon the State ought not to be reconsidered, and just at this time a proposition has been submitted by the Church of Denmark to the Danish Parliament regarding the establishment of an ecclesiastical organ or office to represent the Church in relation to the State. Hitherto, all Church legislation has been referred to the secular Parliament for consideration, but an important bill on women

preachers proposed by the Liberals has brought about the appointment of a committee to prepare an organ for the Church, so that in future the legislative authority shall not put forward proposals of interest for the Church without first consulting the Church. In the matter of the women preachers, seven of Denmark's nine bishops are against it; but the convocation of bishops in Denmark is not possessed of legal authority in relation to the State.

If the question is asked whether there is today in the Church in Denmark greater understanding of Christian fellowship, it may be said that, even if the struggle during the war for common Christian and cultural values has strengthened the unity within the Church (both in the council of bishops and out among the broader ranks of the Churchmen), yet the differences that have made themselves felt in the internal life of the Church during recent generations by reason of various religious preoccupations (Home Mission, Grundtvigians, and Church Centre Party) have not grown substantially less than before. Nor can it be said that the laity holds a stronger leading position than hitherto, even if many active lay Churchmen are at work in the Danish Church, namely, in Home Missions, in Christian Welfare Work, and in Foreign Missions. Today, people are asking about the way to spiritual regeneration in the Church, and in this connection there is talk of the need for a laymen's apostolate. These thoughts were, in fact, put forward by the Primate of the Danish Church, Bishop H. Fuglsang-Damgaard, D.D., and Professor K. E. Skydsgaard, D.D.

The Christian Youth Movement is strong in the Church of Denmark today, both in the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., and in the less organized forms of youth work within the Church. The propagation of the knowledge of the Bible among the people of Denmark is in the hands of the Danish Bible Society, and authorization of a new translation of the New Testament

is imminent. In the domain of religious and theological literature, a number of noteworthy publications have appeared; and on the Danish wireless, over which divine services and devotions are regularly transmitted, a series of considerable length has just recently been arranged on the subject of "What is Christianity?" with the co-operation of a number of outstanding theologians and Churchmen.

The ecumenical work in Denmark is on the eve of an expansion and extension of its sphere of work. Its organ has hitherto been the Danish Ecumenical Council, whose President, Dean Halfdan Hogsbro, is brimming over with initiatory power. An attempt is now about to be made by the Ecumenical Council to establish wider contact with all Danish Church people by forming a more numerous representation, in which all religious beliefs within the Church of Denmark and the Free Churches, together with the Christian Youth Movement, will be represented. At the same time, it has been decided to make a contribution toward familiarizing the congregations with ecumenical work and the ecumenical conception by appointing an ecumenical itinerant preacher in Denmark, who can give lectures and hold services to promote understanding. The Danish Ecumenical Council also participates in the work of spreading information on international ecumenical matters by means of a Danish Ecumenical Press Service. The Ecumenical Council in Denmark has further planned an Ecumenical Study Conference in conjunction with a recreation visit to Denmark for clergy from Central European countries. This ecumenical study visit is planned to take place in May of this year (1947), and seventy Central European clergymen have been invited.

NORWAY

Henrik Hauge

OF NORWAY'S 3,000,000 people, ninety-seven per cent belong to the Church of Norway (Established Evangelical Lutheran). There are 12,000 Methodists, 8,000 Baptists, 2,800 Roman Catholics; one-half of one per cent have no Church allegiance. There is complete religious toleration.

Some ninety-nine per cent of the children are baptized and more than ninety-five per cent are confirmed, chiefly at the age of fifteen years. No home is supposed to be without a Bible and a hymn book.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there has been some tension within the Church between the very strong lay movement, originating in about the year 1800 with a peasant called H. N. Hauge, and the "official Church," and also, especially from about 1900, between groups of different theological points of view. The lay movement, however, has proved to be a most fruitful element and without this dynamic element the Church would not have been the People's Church that it has now become. All lay organizations are completely independent, but they co-operate very closely with the clergy and, in recent years, they have been more or less led by the clergy, but in a most democratic way. The spiritual strength of the Church to a considerable degree depends on the lay movement which is peculiar to the Church of Norway.

The tension decreased to a large extent during the years before the war, and during the occupation it may be said that the tension disappeared. The unity between the different groups was complete. But this unity was not exclusively or even primarily a result of the wartime pressure. It was something that

had been growing for many years. Now, after liberation, there remains an atmosphere of unity and co-operation within the Church.

During the occupation, all the Free Churches were in complete unanimity with the Established Church and wholeheartedly supported its leaders in the struggle against the Nazis. The relations between the Church of Norway and the "dissenters" have continued to be friendly.

During the war, the churches were often packed. A considerable decrease in the attendance of the services was to be expected after the war ended. The decrease has been much less than expected. In the whole nation there has been a considerable tiredness after the liberation, but this tiredness seems to have been comparatively less obvious in the Church life than in other fields. It is important that there has been no decrease in the number of communicants. There is, rather, an increase.

One of the most characteristic things in post-war Christian life in Norway is the new initiative, especially in the fields of social, cultural, and even political life. This does not mean preaching a "social Gospel." There is no indication that the new activity involves a superficial belief in the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven through social, cultural, and political changes. Most Christians are as critical as ever of the "world." The new initiative does not mean an easy optimism. The chief point is a conviction of *responsibility*, in spite of critical attitude toward the "world." In the election in the Autumn of 1945, a new Christian political party (rather radical in social and economic matters) obtained a considerable number of votes and has now eight members in the *Storting* (Parliament). Many Christians for various reasons oppose the formation of this party; not because they do not feel a political responsibility, but because they think this is a wrong way of shouldering it. Two new daily newspapers have been started on a Christian

basis in addition to an old one. One new publishing business for religious literature has also been started. Many other examples may be mentioned which indicate the new activity.

Missionary work in Norway has for many years been very strong. Here, also, there has been a new initiative. In January, 1947, the Egede Institute was opened, an institute for the furtherance of missionary education and research.

Experiences during the occupation raised the question of the relation between the Church of Norway and the State. In November, 1945, the Government appointed a commission, chaired by Bishop Berggrav, to investigate how the Church within the framework of its traditional constitution can be given more freedom.

In the war years, the Church played a leading role and there was no tension in relation to the cultural life. Since the liberation, there has been a strong tension. The Christian basis of all education has been reaffirmed, and Christian teaching is given in all schools; but from cultural radical circles there has been rather strong opposition, especially to the Christian ethic. Radical circles have complained of the Church that it is too "aggressive" in its attitude and in its endeavor to "Christianize" political and cultural life.

The official ecumenical work in Norway is not very strong. This is partly due to the fact that the denominations outside the Church of Norway are all very small. But there has certainly been an increase of the ecumenical sense and mind. One important thing is that, after the isolation during the war years, the longing for fellowship with others is very strong. Another thing is that just in the *isolation* we felt as never before our unity with all Christians. The new joy that ministers and others found in the confession of the Church of Norway does not exclude but promotes the fellowship with Christians of other confessions.

It is clear that the Church in Norway today has a much wider front than before the war. Very few would like to shorten the front. But the real question is whether the Church has the spiritual strength to fulfill its task. If we are to succeed, new initiatives must be followed by the new spiritual strength and by a definite spiritual concentration on God.

SWEDEN

Arnold Werner

THE long-desired cessation of hostilities was welcomed all over Sweden with great and general satisfaction, which found expression, particularly in Stockholm, in tremendous jubilation. The bishops took the initiative in arranging Thanksgiving Services, which were held all over the country. Especially great was the joy over the liberation of the Scandinavian neighbor-countries, and this was also reflected in ecclesiastical quarters.

During the war, there was a universal holy truce under the direction of a Coalition Government. On the whole, a positive attitude was adopted toward the Church and Christianity. Since the war ended, the spiritual climate in the country has, however, grown much more severe; 1946 in particular was characterized by continual attacks in the radical press on the Church of Sweden and its leaders. The nonconformist denominations were quite naturally in a less exposed position. In radical quarters, every opportunity has been exploited to cast suspicion on clergy and bishops of being Nazi sympathizers and to undermine confidence in the Church. With very few exceptions, however, the clergy of Sweden and all her bishops adopted throughout the entire war an anti-Nazi attitude, which was

clearly expressed in the Christian message and in several pronouncements made by the bishops in common. Only in two cases was the radical criticism somewhat justified. One of these was an instance of some articles published at the beginning of the war by two, now deceased, clergymen, in the periodical edited by the Swedish National Committee of the Lutheran World Convention. The criticism led to a reorganization of that National Committee and a satisfactory reconstruction of its administration. The other case in which criticism was warranted was a certain defectiveness in the organization and administration of the large fund, for the relief of distress among the denominations of war-devastated countries, which was raised in the Church of Sweden and amounted to three million crowns. Criticism of the management of this fund, although considerably exaggerated, has resulted in a salutary review and reassuring handling of this administration. The attacks have, however, rendered continued collection of money extremely difficult, which is very regrettable and was, no doubt, intended.

In this connection, the initiative has been taken also by radical quarters, via the Riksdag, in promoting a general reconsideration of Church collections.

Concurrently with this politically inspired, often extremely irresponsible, criticism of the Church and its servants, increased antagonism in the general debate on cultural matters has also become apparent between those who defend and those who repudiate a Christian outlook on life. An interesting instance of this is the book *Christianity, For and Against*, published in 1946, in which Dr. Stellan Arvidson, a head-master, acts as spokesman of an atheistic-Marxist criticism of Christianity and Bishop Torsten Bohlin conducts Christianity's defense.

Quite recently a general radio discussion on the abolition of the State Church has also been started.

To what extent all these various attacks on the Church and

Christianity are the precursors of a more general struggle against the ascendancy of the Church in the State (of a more general struggle for civilization) or not, is difficult to say. There are signs showing a certain cautiousness in more responsible quarters in the government party where consideration must be paid to public opinion in all ranks of the population.

The relations between the Christian Communions can be described as quite good, on the whole. Within the scope of the ecumenical organization, co-operation between representatives of the different denominations continues much as before in a spirit of friendliness. Naturally, there still remain differences of Faith and Order nature due to historical consideration, primarily between Church and Free Church, but with the obvious relaxation of tension resulting from the ecumenical work and the troublous times. Since the ecumenical way of looking at things has not yet penetrated down to the broad ranks of the religious communities (but has been embraced chiefly by their leaders), existing antagonisms are strongest locally, out in the country districts, and less apparent between the denominations as a whole. The High Church tendency that has recently emerged in the Church of Sweden, mainly supported by younger clergy, has caused some anxiety in Nonconformist quarters, and has adversely affected their willingness to join in the ecumenical activities of the Church. How matters will develop in this respect will probably depend essentially upon the extent to which high Churchmen and Free Churchmen can be brought to a better understanding of each other; the leaders of the Ecumenical Movement have already taken certain steps to effect this.

As to the relief of distress among prisoners-of-war and among the religious bodies of war-scarred countries, the desire for ecumenical collaboration has shown itself in many practical ways, both during and since the war, among others in the form of a

Swedish ecco¹ organization and in certain co-operation in support of the work being done by the Reconstruction Department in Geneva, as well as in separate appeals for money and other efforts made by individual communions.

No particularly marked change is apparent in the recruitment of leaders in Swedish communities and Christian organization. New and younger workers come forward when the old ones' time is up. In the matter of a possible reform of the training of Swedish clergy, a Royal Commission under the presidency of Bishop Brilioth brought forward a proposal which was discussed by the 1946 Church Assembly. Similarly, a proposal was made by another Royal Commission, presided over by Bishop Rodhe, for increased lay representation in the Church Assembly.

The cessation of hostilities has naturally stimulated the activity of all denominations and Christian organizations, in consequence of the removal of the pressure from without and of relaxation of many restrictions in the external conditions of life. In the Church of Sweden, the voluntary work of the Church in the Sunday School, the Youth Movement, and in parish ministrations has continuously increased in scope in all dioceses. Many meetings have been held and new initiative in various forms has been taken. The same may also be said of the conditions in Nonconformist circles and in other Christian organizations. In the main, an increasingly strong support of the fundamental Christian values of life has been noticeable in Christian quarters, while large-scale secularization continues among the people otherwise.

The armistice has opened up new possibilities for international communication, and these have also been made use of in the life of the Church. In the first place, mention should be made of the reestablishment of connections with the Churches

¹Emergency Committee of Christian Organizations. Editor.

of the other Scandinavian countries, which found expression, among other things, in a Scandinavian Ecumenical Conference, a Scandinavian Convocation of Bishops, and a Convocation of Scandinavian Clergy, in 1946. In 1945, a Swedish bishop was able to visit Buenos Aires to consecrate the Swedish Church there. In the Summer of 1946, a number of Swedish Churchmen attended various ecumenical conferences in England. Since the war, our country has also received visits from several Christian leaders and Churchmen of other countries, such as Dr. Bersell, President of the Augustana Synod, of the United States, the Rev. Norman Goodall, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, Dr. Mott, and several of the leading men in the World Council's Reconstruction Department in Geneva.

The war greatly hampered Swedish missionaries in their work. Many missionaries had to wait for years for the possibility of coming home for a sorely needed rest, and a large number of missionary candidates, who were ready to go out, had to stay at home. As there were difficulties with communications even after the war, the Scandinavian missionaries procured a plane of their own, "Ansgar," which has handled traffic in the service of missions. The extent of the contributions to missions made by the Swedish denominations and missionary societies will be seen from the following statistics for the period October 1st, 1945—September 30th, 1946: 1262 missionaries, eight and one-half million Swedish crowns in mission receipts, 251 missionaries who have traveled out and 360 who have come home, 532 missionaries who, in the near future, will be sent to different fields of action the world over. Compared with preceding years, these statistics show a continued increase in the country's interest in missions. Complete ecumenical co-operation in the sphere of the missions takes place in the Swedish Missionary Council and conjoint Scandinavian action in the Scandinavian Missionary Council. Sweden still maintains con-

nections with the International Missionary Council, and, during recent years, Dr. K. B. Westman, Professor of the history of missions in the University of Uppsala, has, in particular, taken an active part in its work as one of its Vice-Chairmen.

The activity of religious publishing houses has both during and since the war remained at about the same level as before. Church and Christian literature of varying merit has appeared without interruption. A number of theological treatises have been published. Professors of the Faculty of Theology at Lund have, among other things, started to publish valuable commentaries on the books of the New Testament. The distribution of the Bible within the country has continued as usual. Thanks to the compulsory religious instruction in the schools and to the confirmation of from eighty to ninety per cent of the children, the Bible is automatically circulated to almost the whole population. It is particularly interesting to note in this connection that, in collaboration with the British and Foreign Bible Society, Bibles in several languages have, during recent years, been printed in Sweden for distribution in war-wasted countries.

It will be evident from the above survey that the after-effects from the war that Sweden has felt have not involved any sweeping changes in the life of the Church. Nor can one detect any violent changes of opinion. The above-mentioned tendencies in respect of the general cultural development and the attitude adopted toward the Church and Christianity do not provide sufficient grounds for a prognosis regarding future development. All that can be said is that the post-war period has resulted in a more serious situation for Swedish Christendom than before, and this calls for vigilance and for wise concentration of all the Christian forces of the people to more active efforts.

4

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Stewart W. Herman, Jr.

OUT OF THE German cauldron of collapse in 1918 two men who have molded history emerged; namely, Adolf Hitler and—Martin Niemöller. They personify the revolution and the counter-revolution through which Germany is still being churned. It is important to remember that, in the aftermath of the first World War, their lives were changed: one of them—the Austrian corporal—plunged into beer-hall politics, the other—a Prussian “sub” commander—entered the Christian ministry. The process by which they were changed is being repeated today and what happened before can happen again. It is superfluous to point out that most of the nation placed—or seemed to place—more faith in the politician than in the pastor. Will defeated Germany give birth to another Hitler? Even more important: Would another Hitler be confronted with, or forestalled by, another Niemöller? These are not only political and economic problems. They are, primarily, vital spiritual problems. The house that Hitler rebuilt has been swept and garnished by the fires of war. Who will move in next?

After the last war, the Church was slow to claim the room vacated by the monarchical idea. Indeed, the Church was discredited along with the Hohenzollerns’ discredited Reich. Thus, political parties had a clear field in which the new messianism of the Brown Shirts found millions of faithful disciples, often

encouraged by the pastors and priests. It was not until Nazi ideology had entrenched itself in the popular mind that many Churchmen ceased to think of the loss of the kaiser as the worst fate that could befall the State. Only in 1933 did a Pastors' Emergency League leap into action and attempt to release a different sort of phoenix from the cold ashes of bitter defeat. The Confessing Church, which grew from the League, must be understood not merely as a significant—if belated—rebuke to a pagan Führer, but as a final attempt to divert the nation from the warpath of vengeance.

Too little account is taken of the effect of defeat upon the psychology of a vanquished people. Nations can accept complete military defeat and recover from it, but no nation can accept total spiritual defeat and live. Vindication, therefore, is bound to grope for expression. It need not necessarily result in a craving for retaliation, but under Hitler the German urge for vindication assumed its worst form: the State, instead of trying to reform the vanquished nation, tried to "reform" the victors. Under Niemöller and his colleagues, a desperate effort was made to regenerate the Church and purify the spirit of the people, but the State bound and gagged the Church, even threw it into political prison.

With the outbreak of the new war, the Church and its struggle were completely eclipsed, but the yeast of spiritual resistance continued to work in the blackout of enforced silence. Regardless of Nazi victories, Christian leaders planned for the future and nourished the nucleus around which a new Church could grow. When the collapse came, all *deutsche Christen* (Nazi Christians) were swept from ecclesiastical office, and by the end of August, 1945—despite the disorganized state of rail and mail services—a provisional *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* (EKD for short) was formed at an impressive

meeting of the representatives of all provincial Church bodies.¹ This conference at Treysa left no doubt that the heart of German Protestantism had eluded the Nazi grasp; most of the credit belonged to the unremitting resistance of the brotherhood of the Confessing Church for refusing to abandon its unequal fight with totalitarianism.

By the end of World War II, the German Church found itself in a totally different position from the one it occupied in 1918. In a real sense, it had emerged victorious from the struggle with Fascism and, therefore, the psychology of defeat did not—in every respect—apply to it; but one of the greatest disappointments in the midst of triumph was that the western invaders (at least) did not regard it as an ally against Nazism. This was particularly painful not only because of the attention which allied propaganda paid to the resisting Church, but because, during the first year of occupation, many Germans naïvely persisted in believing that the Church enjoyed the special esteem of Allied Control authorities, even though the restrictions upon religious activity were, if anything, more onerous than before. Fortunately, the prestige of the Church could not be seriously shaken by Allied negative policy and the rapid rise of the Christian Democratic Union to preeminence among the post-war political parties heavily underscores this fact.

Not for decades has the German Church been so strong: but not for decades has it been so weak! Its strength is spiritual: its weakness is physical.

The weakness, to begin with, is not so much the result of Hitler's cold-blooded attempt to murder the Church as of the ravages of modern war. Much property was confiscated by the Nazis and the ministry was radically depleted by hostile meas-

¹ It will be noted that *Evangelical*, in German, generally means Protestant, that is, the large Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

ures ranging from restrictions placed on theological training to death in concentration camp. But it is no idle saying that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. The more the Church was stripped of its missionary, evangelistic, and educational activities, the more it realized how indispensable these prerogatives were and the more it studied the use of them. Both clergy and laity were frequently faced with the personal problem: justify your faith or abandon it! Gradually, a compact body of devout people who called themselves Christians but placed fanatical faith in the Führer became perceptible in the huge mass of indifferent Church adherents. Most of the Protestant pastors found their way into the Confessing Church.

No, the greatest weakness of the German Church came as the direct result of war. The military blows which were required to smash the Nazi war-machine also smashed the Church, and the shackles which were laid upon the prostrate nation likewise chained the Church. It was sufficiently serious for the revival of Christian activity that thousands of buildings were destroyed by air-attacks and artillery, that hundreds of anti-Nazis perished with the Nazis in the huge death-tolls of great cities. Under the circumstances, those losses could hardly be helped. But it was even more serious that the break-down of transportation and communications prevented—and still prevent—the effective marshaling of religious forces to take possession of the spiritual desert inherited from Hitler. The country was divided into zones and whole Church provinces (in the east) were broken up and lost. The complete destruction of the Evangelical Churches in East Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia is a blow from which German Protestantism will probably never recover and to which it will never be reconciled.

Added to these unforeseen developments was the total bankruptcy of national and private economy. The program of spiritual revival had to be inaugurated in a devastated land by

a stunned and exhausted clergy, for the most part ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed. Lack of space does not permit a description of the living conditions which have so profoundly affected the efficiency of Christian leadership. Suffice it to say that the pastors were content to know that they were needed to carry the enormous physical and spiritual burdens which a leaderless people daily heaped upon them. Ambitious social, charitable, and educational projects were resumed by men whose churches and parsonages had disappeared and who trudged willingly for miles through city streets to conduct funeral services as the death-rate rose.

The strength of the Church lay in the fact that it had largely regained the basic convictions which enabled it to set to work uncomplainingly at the apparently hopeless task of reconstruction. Christian workers not only seemed to have unlimited energy for their gigantic local tasks but summoned excess energy for matters of national and international interest. The secret source of their strength was that they *knew* they were weak. For German Churchmen, who had always been proud of the Reformation tradition and conscious of their Protestant power, this constituted a sensational discovery—the full implications of which, however, some of them still obstinately refuse to face. Helpless to stem the intrushing tidal wave of Hitlerism, they now seem prepared to acknowledge that only by God's grace can they begin to erect in German hearts a spiritual sea-wall of sufficient strength to withstand a recurrence of the Nazi onslaught.

The foundation of this wall was laid at Stuttgart only a month after the Treysa meeting, when a declaration regarding the Church's sense of solidarity in the matter of national guilt was offered to a group of ecumenical visitors by the elected leaders of EKD. It will be noted therein that the Church does not pretend that the *entire* nation is fully repentant, even

though ninety-five per cent of the people belong to the Protestant and Roman Churches. In fact, the Roman Church officially dissociated itself from any declaration of guilt. On the other hand, the Evangelical Church has repeatedly reaffirmed its position; it believes that the nation as a whole was guilty and bases its present program on the fact that the Church is also darkly to blame.

Darkly to blame for what? Chiefly for the sins of omission and negligence whereby the Christian Church failed in its permanent mission to the people. In many instances, devout Christians in Germany accept direct responsibility for the concentration camps, the gas-chambers, the racial persecution, Nazi aggression, and Gestapo terrorism, but in most cases only indirect responsibility is admitted. Actual blame is usually laid at the feet of Himmler and Hitler. Niemöller, among others, is trying to convince the people of their direct responsibility (not, however, of collective guilt) but his task is made harder because most Germans have not heard any declarations of coresponsibility from Christians in other countries and, while admitting the overwhelming guilt of Germany, do not believe in the entire innocence of the United Nations before, during, or since the war. They are afraid that the Stuttgart declaration will be used against them. And when they hear of the declarations of repentance by Churches of the Allied States, they employ the standard of judgment by which they themselves are judged: how far do the people and the government—of the United States, for example—share in the declarations made by Church spokesmen? In brief, it is fairly obvious that the extent of national repentance in Germany will be largely contingent upon the evident willingness of ex-enemies to forgive. Of course, the exact opposite may be said with equal force, namely, that the victors will forgive when Germany is ready to repent,

but it must be kept in mind that Germans are hyperconscious of the abuses of "sole war guilt" statements.

A twentieth-century reformation of the German people and the German Church does not depend upon the publication of occasional resolutions but upon the quality and effectiveness of the country's spiritual leadership during this crucial post-war period. A number of old and discredited leaders are still to be found in the Roman, the Evangelical, and the so-called Free Churches. Although badly compromised by the ambiguous positions they took when touched by personal danger, these men are not really Nazis and, therefore, the denazification policy of military government has not affected them. So far as the future of the German Church is concerned, they constitute the most difficult, if not the most dangerous, part of the picture.

New leaders, however, have emerged, and at the present time they actually hold most of the key-positions in the big Protestant Church. It is hardly exaggerated to say that EKD's Council of Twelve consists of "jailbirds," all of whom suffered house-arrest, or *Redeverbot* (i.e. prohibition to preach or speak), if not detention in concentration camps, because of their anti-Nazi stand. In most of the provincial Churches, which compose EKD, there was a thorough house-cleaning, especially in the Prussian Union Churches of Northern Germany. In some cases, this was achieved by an ecclesiastical *coup d'état*, but in most instances the provisional authorities took immediate steps to place the final selection of ecclesiastical leaders in the hands of Church members.

One of the most significant developments of the new leadership is its insistence upon popular elections which begin at the parish level. Congregations have been urged or ordered to choose new parish committees of *active* members by ballot. Out of these new councils grow the regional authorities and

finally the new synods. Synodical delegates will eventually meet to draft a national constitution and elect national leaders. There are as yet no foregone conclusions as to what form this government will take or what its doctrinal basis will be, but it is more likely to become a federation of Churches than a united Church. Confessional feelings have actually been accentuated rather than minimized by practical co-operation. This is to be welcomed because it illustrates the fact that the very bases of the Church are undergoing close study.

The danger of academic theological quarrels, in which Germans are too prone to indulge, is not yet past, but the fact that an increasing amount of attention is paid to the voice of devoted laymen affords some guarantee against the willful exaggeration of dogmatic differences. This has become apparent in the dissatisfaction that is felt with the training of ministers in the rarefied intellectual atmosphere of State universities. The necessity of a complete revision of pastoral preparation is conceded, but little—admittedly—has as yet been done to change the old system, largely because of the many technical difficulties involved. Most of these difficulties are again traceable to the extensive destruction of property and the inhibitions resident in alien military controls. New and independent Church training centers have already been opened for both ministerial students and Christian layworkers. Perhaps the two best examples are to be found in the “Church University” in Berlin and the “Christianity Academy” (for professional groups, labor leaders, artists in various fields, etc.) at Bad Boll in the American zone. Great numbers of the laity have also been marshaled for duty in the social service program which has been centered to a large extent in the national *Evangelisches Hilfswerk* (Evangelical Relief and Reconstruction Agency).

The *Hilfswerk* has become the spearhead of the post-war reconstruction effort, and thus is closely associated with the

Christian Reconstruction program of the World Council of Churches. Since May, 1946, the German Central Committee includes not only all the provincial Churches but also the Free Churches and therewith constitutes the first really organic Protestant agency in Germany. Recently, a Methodist minister was invited to represent a Lutheran pastor at a *Hilfswerk* meeting! Formerly, the Inner Mission societies bore the chief burden of Christian social work and, of course, they continue to operate along traditional lines, but it is *Hilfswerk* which has tried to tackle the vast mass of post-war emergencies with which normal institutions cannot cope.

German Churchmen—especially of the resisting brotherhood—realize that without external aid they cannot regain their feet in time to confront the spiritual crisis. This represents a practical extension of the realization that the Church is woefully weak. During the Nazi period and the war, many Churchmen looked beyond the German border for spiritual support. The fact that they now feel constrained to look for material relief is as embarrassing to them as it is suspicious to many of us. Without substantial help, however, the German Church would not be able to recover quickly and unless there is a quick recovery the golden opportunity to begin a “reformation” of the nation along Christian lines will be lost. The urgency of the Church is accentuated by the regrettable fact that the first eighteen months of occupation show few gratifying results in the difficult field of “democratic reeducation.” In fact, “democracy” is rapidly becoming a term of derision in most of the vocabularies of Europe. Something more profound than political philosophy is needed.

The ideological changes in German atmosphere have been largely negative: they have moved *from* but not *to*. *From* National Socialism, from democracy, from Communism, but *to* nothing, except, perhaps, nihilism. There is a distinct interest

in Christianity as the one thing that has survived the debacle, but this interest has not been channeled toward, or focused on, the Church. Part of this is owing to the fact that Germany is starved for Bibles and religious books at a time when the youth, especially, are hungry for spiritual nourishment, but a great part of the blame is to be found in certain sections of the Church, which, while vigorous and virile, center their attention exclusively on the sixteenth century and refuse to be ruffled by anything that has occurred since Luther's revolution. They are inclined to make molehills out of modern mountains.

Ever since Bishop Wurm called the first meeting of representative German Church leaders, the "united" front has been in danger of being spelled "untied." The men of the Confessing Church have been pressing for a more radical reform of the ecclesiastical structure, on the basis of the Barmen Declaration, whereas the official Lutheran Council has been working toward a conservation of the confessional values in a United Lutheran Church of Germany. There are intransigent elements in both camps, as well as great values in each position. Only the centripetal forces exerted by war and peace have been able to overcome the centrifugal forces generated by internal dissension. The Nazis are to be thanked for the fact that there is still a large measure of co-operation even between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. In several regions, priests and pastors have attained complete concord on the important question of providing adequate religious education in the public schools, but there is a tendency everywhere to reinstitute the parochial system as soon as feasible.

The future of the German Church is difficult to prophesy. Its greatest asset has been that it resisted the totalitarian Nazi encroachment and survived. Its greatest liability, on the other hand, may prove to be its association with the so-called "Christian" conquerors of the west. Be that as it may, it is exceedingly

difficult to imagine the future of the German Church without any idea as to what Germany's political and economic future will be. By the Potsdam Agreement, Germany actually has no future worth mentioning and there is a temptation for the Church to take refuge again in that same other-worldliness for which it has so often been blamed. By the growth of the Ecumenical Movement, however, an entirely new dimension has been given to international Christian solidarity and support, and many Churchmen are placing their hope almost exclusively in the *Ekumene*. If this hope fails them, their last spiritual foundations dug in *this* earth may crumble and collapse.

Whereas the Protestant population of Germany numbers forty million people, or two-thirds of the nation, Austria is predominantly Catholic, with less than 400,000 Protestants, most of whom are Lutheran. About two-thirds of these "Evangelicals" are in the Russian zone where the worst devastation occurred, but—as in Germany's Russian zone—they enjoy freedom of worship. Today, these Austrians feel that they have regained the religious liberty which was lost in the merger with the German Evangelical Church in March, 1938. The Churches were gradually deprived of their publications, schools, youth work, and charitable enterprises despite the fact that they, following the unhappy lead of the Roman Catholics, extended a formal welcome to the Führer upon his triumphant arrival.

People who visited Austria shortly after each of the two World Wars state that significant changes are observable, particularly in ecumenical matters. After 1918, the Austrian Protestants remained closely bound to the German Churches but now they are much more hospitable to contacts with other nations. Gradually ceasing to think of themselves as a diaspora which was spiritually as well as financially reliant upon Germany, they have come to develop a dignity and independ-

ence of their own in the family of Christian Communions. The bitter political struggle with Rome and the oppression of Catholic regimes in power are no longer factors of importance for the Protestants. A sense of inferiority vis-à-vis the great Roman Church has been greatly reduced by mutual sympathies growing out of common oppression. This new maturity, therefore, is not only the inevitable result of the cessation of large financial grants from German sources, but of the bitter struggle with National Socialism and the long, involuntary isolation from Christian intercourse. Now, Austria, under Bishop May, who took office in September, 1944, has turned to the Ecumenical Movement for both material and spiritual support.

The biggest problem of the small Church has been the temporary absorption of more than 100,000 fellow-Protestants from the Balkans. Normal Church work has been greatly handicapped by the same post-war conditions which prevail in Germany—namely, zonal division, lack of adequate communication, hunger, and destruction—to say nothing of the tremendous drop in income. Therefore, Christian activity must be recommenced with little more than the neutral good will of the new regime. The income of the Church has been cut in half and the basic salary of pastors last winter was only twenty dollars per month at the official rate of exchange. A great spiritual hunger is noticeable but it can be only partially satisfied, like the physical hunger which is hardly stilled by an average daily ration of 1,000 grams of food. Church attendance records have greatly improved in the last years and children who have never had religious instruction are asking to be confirmed. Young people of eighteen to twenty years of age have been attending catechetical classes. In order to provide religious instruction in the public schools for widely scattered Protestant families, pastors sometimes travel a circuit of fifteen to twenty schools in almost as many towns.

Paper is needed in order to print Bibles, religious school-books, and youth magazines. Automobiles and bicycles are needed by pastors whose scattered parishes require frequent visitation. Food and fuel are needed to help the indigent immigrants from the Balkan areas. Money is required for theological training, pastors' salaries, and the reequipping of institutions. In part, these needs have been met through the Reconstruction Department of the World Council of Churches, which works in close contact with an Austrian Committee whose secretary is Pastor Georg Traar, also head of the youth work.

The outlook of the Austrian Church is fairly hopeful, provided that the country's political future is stable. An adequate supply of ministerial candidates is on hand, vacant chairs at the Viennese theological faculty can be filled, and the Church is conscious of its evangelistic task. In a border-state between the East and West, the Lutheran Church of Austria is aware of its strategic position and declares: "With our limited resources and our painful but enriching experiences, the Austrian Church wants to serve her Lord in the great chorus of Communions and countries."

5

POLAND

Gaither P. Warfield

WHEREVER AND whenever East meets West, the result means conflict and sharp contrasts. Poland is a classical example of this. In this country, throughout the centuries as today, Roman and Byzantine cultures have struggled for supremacy; western democracy versus eastern despotism; the Roman *Suprema Lex* against the ukase; Christian individualism opposed to Asiatic slavery. The Second World War, which brought so many changes to Polish life, has not, however, done away with this struggle. In the light of this fact, many seemingly contradictory aspects of modern Poland become clear.

Ever since her conversion to Christianity, Poland has been typically Roman Catholic. But, due to the traditional Polish respect for personal liberty, the Inquisition never took root. Jews have been given asylum from persecution and Protestants have been tolerated since the sixteenth century. Before 1939, Poland moved in the orbit of the Vatican. The Concordat signed in 1925 was the leash by which the Pope guided Polish affairs. During the German occupation, the Vatican policy towards the Nazi regime caused vast dissatisfaction among the Poles. Time and again, the Pope favored the invaders, thus making it only natural for the present Provisional Government of Poland to renounce, in 1946, the Concordat and to throw off Rome's political tutelage. As a further step in asserting Polish independence from Rome, the Provisional Government

granted official recognition to all religious faiths hitherto unrecognized. Among the Christian denominations thus legalized, the Polish National Catholic Church and the Methodist Church are the most prominent.

Despite the present government's policy, Roman Catholicism has a stronger hold on the Polish people than before the war. In 1939, only seventy-five per cent of the inhabitants of Poland were nominal Roman Catholics. This percentage included nearly four million Ukrainians who recognized the authority of the Pope but followed the worship and practice of the Eastern Church. They were known as Greek Catholics. They no longer are found in present Poland. With the annihilation of over three million Jews, the loss of the eastern provinces—with an even larger number of Greek Orthodox—and the expulsion of a million German Protestants, the nominal Roman Catholics now represent ninety-seven per cent of the population. In spite of the Vatican's tactics during the occupation, the Roman Catholic Church has also gained in popularity. All who oppose the Provisional Government, patriots who are convinced that the present trend must lead to a complete loss of independence, liberals who are against any totalitarian methods, and reactionaries who want a return to ante bellum conditions, look upon the Church of Rome as their natural rallying point.

This does not mean, however, that the other Christian Churches (as we shall designate all non-Roman denominations for the sake of brevity) have no opportunity for growth and expansion in present-day Poland. Legally their existence is guaranteed by the Provisional Government. Besides, they are no longer burdened with the unproductive task of keeping the records of vital statistics. Most important, moreover, is the vast moral and physical need caused by the devastation of war. The economic and spiritual reconstruction is a task that the

Roman Catholic Church alone can not meet. All honest Poles, regardless of their spiritual and political affiliation, welcome any group able to render help. Important are the millions of uprooted Poles shifted from one part of the country to the other. Torn from their original communities, loosened from the moorings of tradition and sentimental ties, they will have to make soulshaking adjustments in these new environments. These people will require discerning ministration and guidance.

The modern Polish Ecumenical Movement began about 1925. At the time the Stockholm Conference was held, leadership rested with the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Somewhat later, the Greek Orthodox Church joined the movement. In those years, only a handful of leaders of the above-mentioned Churches took any interest in ecumenicity. The rank and file of clergy and laity knew little and cared less. This the war changed radically. During the struggle, Britain and America, two Protestant countries, were the chief allies. Hence, what Protestants abroad think and plan today is of vital importance to Poles.

During the Nazi occupation—with the exception of German Lutheran groups—all Christian Churches in Poland suffered severely. The Evangelical-Augsburg (Polish Lutheran) Church was a special target for persecution. Its leader, Bishop Julius Bursche, died a martyr's death in the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen. In those tragic days, clergy and laity from all Churches shared prison-cells, torture, and often death, together. Those who survived found themselves bound by ties of mutual understanding and affection. They can not go back to narrow sectarianism. Christian brotherhood has become a reality, ecumenicity a normal way of Christian thinking.

In the fall of 1945, the Protestant Churches created the Polish National Reconstruction Committee. Lutheran, Methodist, Reformed, Baptist, and Evangelical Christians joined forces to

meet the staggering problems of physical need. The committee approached the World Council of Churches and the Church World Service in New York and became the official recipient and distributor of relief supplies for Poland. The method and ratio of distribution followed by the committee seems to have been entirely satisfactory to the participating Churches. In 1946, these same Churches organized an Ecumenical Council, in which they were joined by the Greek Orthodox Church, the Polish National Catholic Church, the Mariawit Church, and the Old Catholic Church. The Reverend Zygmunt Michelis of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church was elected the first president of the council. The Ecumenical Council has organized a Reconstruction Committee which now cares for all matters of relief and rehabilitation. Each Church is represented on this committee. The Committee on Evangelism presents another phase of the Ecumenical Council's program.

There is no denying that numerically, financially, and even spiritually the Christian Churches of Poland are weak. The German Churches of pre-war Poland, the United Evangelical Church, the Evangelical United Church of Polish Upper Silesia, the Lutheran Evangelical Church of Western Poland, and the Augsburg-Helvetian Evangelical Church, today no longer exist. Their clergy and members either fled to Germany with the retreating Nazi armies or were subsequently expelled by the Polish authorities. Their property was confiscated by the Polish State. The best of their buildings were appropriated by the Roman Catholic Church. Only a few came into the possession of the Evangelical-Augsburg (Polish Lutheran) Church. Thus, four ecclesiastical organizations totaling a half-million members, are no longer a part of Poland's Protestant life.

The Churches which today make up the Ecumenical Council fall into three main groups. To the first belong the Lutheran

and Reformed Churches, which have a rich Polish heritage that goes back directly to the sixteenth century.

The ranks of the Evangelical-Augsburg (Polish Lutheran) Church were decimated during the war. While in 1939 there were 470,000 members served by 198 pastors, by the end of 1946 there remained only 150,000 members and sixty-eight pastors. As the Church had been composed of Germans and Poles, among the missing are many who went to the Reich. It must be remembered, however, that twenty-one of this Church's leaders—including Bishop Bursche, aforementioned—died tragically in Nazi camps and prisons. Thirty of its finest sanctuaries since the end of the war have been taken over by the Roman Catholic Church. Today's Polish Lutherans are handicapped in their program by their German origin and the recent political record of German Lutherans in Poland. It is noteworthy that despite these odds this Church furnishes the leadership of the Polish Protestant Youth Movement.

The Reformed Church as a religious factor in Poland has ceased to exist. The Synod of Wilno, roughly speaking half of it, found itself outside the boundaries of the Polish Republic when the eastern provinces were annexed by the Soviet Union. The 40,000 members of the Warsaw Synod have shrunk to a bare 20,000. Of its clergy, only two remain, the rest having either been killed or died during the war. The future looks indeed dark for this historic Church whose traditions go directly back to the Reformation.

The second group is composed of the Baptists and the Evangelical Christian congregations and the Methodist Church. The Baptist congregations find themselves in a position similar to that of the Polish Lutheran Church. They have lost a number of their leaders and half of their membership due to the fact that they were Germans. Their scattered groups, numbering 14,000 at present, are chiefly cared for by laymen. The Evan-

gelical Christians, closely resembling the Baptists in doctrines and practice, are a loosely organized group with alert leadership. With Poland's loss of the eastern provinces, they were reduced to one-third of their pre-war constituency and number now 10,000.

The Methodist Church is unique in that today it has a larger membership than before the war. During the past year, it doubled its constituency and now numbers 80,000. Its fifty-four pastors are the youngest group of Protestant ministers in Poland. Granted recognition in 1945 by the Provisional Government, with ties binding it closely to the United States, and under the able leadership of the Reverend Konstanty Najder, this Church has won a wide circle of friends and supporters extending beyond its immediate membership. As the Director for Religious Affairs in the Ministry of Culture expressed it recently, "the future of the Methodist Church in Poland is quite promising."

The third and largest group is made up of the so-called Catholic bodies: the Greek Orthodox Church, the Polish National Catholic Church, the Mariawit Church, and the Old Catholic Church. After World War II, all Orthodox living within the bounds of the newly created Polish Republic were gathered into an organization under the Metropolitan of Warsaw and independent of the Patriarch of Moscow. With over four million adherents in 1939, this Communion was second only to the Roman Catholic Church in numbers. At that time, Metropolitan Dionysius was its head. When peace came, he was accused by the present Polish régime of collaboration with the Germans, and Bishop Timothy was appointed acting-chief. It is expected that Metropolitan Dionysius will—one of these days—go to Moscow and place the Orthodox Church in Poland under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow; then, he will be reinstated. Due to the transfer of

Poland's eastern provinces to the Soviet Union and the forced migration eastward beyond the present bounds of Poland of many Orthodox, only a small number of members remains in the country. It is estimated there are now 106 parishes and 120,000 adherents.

The Polish National Catholic Church was organized in 1897, in Scranton, Pa., U.S.A. At the close of World War I, delegates and missionaries of this Church came to Poland and established parishes whose members were recruited from among Roman Catholics. For years, this denomination suffered bitter persecution, and was not recognized until, in 1945, the present Polish Government granted it recognition. Its liturgical practices are similar to those of the Roman Catholic Church. In doctrine, it is quite liberal. Also, it does not accept the authority of the Pope, it uses the Polish language in liturgy, and it allows its priests to marry. This Church claims today 80,000 adherents.

The Mariawit Church arose in Poland (in a part then under Russian occupation) at the close of the last century. A group of Roman Catholics broke away from their Church in the desire to elevate Mary, the Mother of Jesus, to the status of divinity. Though recognized by Czarist Russian authorities, this offshoot was relentlessly maligned and oppressed by the Roman Catholic Church. By and by, however, it won a measure of sympathy due to its good works and practical Christianity. The number of its members has been static for years. The Old Catholic Church is the Polish branch of those Catholic groups which were united by the Treaty of Utrecht. At no time large or influential in Poland, it counts now some 50,000 members.

This is the general picture of the Christian Churches in Poland. Among twenty-four million Poles there are only 600,000 followers of the denominations which belong to the Ecumenical Council. Another one hundred thousand is represented by less known Communions, such as the Seventh Day

Adventists, the Russellites, and the Pentecostals. Unfortunately, these Communion are divided into numerous groups by their peculiar teachings and unregulated lay leadership. All religious minorities—both in and outside the Ecumenical Council—are entirely Polish in membership. It must be added that the German Evangelicals still remaining in the territories given to Poland for administrative purposes by the Potsdam Agreement are slated for expulsion, and will—undoubtedly—be out of the picture when this book is published.

Conditions in Poland today present innumerable obstacles to the growth of the Christian Churches. A bitter political fight cuts through the nation like a dividing knife. The cruel struggle for daily bread and clothing consumes most of the people's thought and energy. Any of the numerous major or minor shortcomings would alone be a serious barrier; together, they seem insurmountable. And so, for instance, the youth movement has not only to contend with ill health and apathy growing out of malnutrition, but it has to wrestle with low moral standards (a sad aftermath of the German occupation) and the dearth of trained leaders. Due to the wholesale destruction of public and private libraries, the clergy lack books and periodicals both inspirational and informative. Religious literature is stifled by the scarcity of printing paper.

Christianity, nevertheless, was born in an oppressed nation. Famine and political tyranny accompanied its birth pangs. It has grown and flourished through the centuries despite impossibilities. For when men catch a vision of God's love and holiness then they find power to overcome the world.

No one knows what Poland's future will be, but Polish patriots hope for political independence for their country. They realize that Poland's future hinges on friendship with the Soviet Union. Yet they want to remain outside the U.S.S.R., and work out their own political, economic, and cultural salvation.

If these hopes become a reality, the Christian Churches will also be free. They will sink their roots deep into the foundations of the national structure. The Ecumenical Movement will grow with them and together they will gain in experience and spirit. On the one hand, the Ecumenical Movement will richly serve Poland; on the other, it will bring to the Christian world the gifts of a people promising in religious possibilities and yet blighted by the tragedies of the past.

SWITZERLAND

Adolph Keller

ONE OF THE manifest differences between European and American mentality is the attitude toward history.

No European Church would enter into the problems of the present without casting a look toward the past in order to discover the starting-point for our moral obligation to build a new world and make our specific contribution toward the common Christian effort to bring the Gospel as a redeeming and constructive force to a world of chaos and despair.

With the outbreak of war, the Swiss nation knew that Switzerland, in the heart of Europe, would have to pass through the greatest crisis of its history. Even with its four-hundred-year-old policy of neutrality, the country could not avoid being in the center of the formidable European conflict. It had to be prepared to fight for its independence and the maintenance of its highest cultural and spiritual values.

Political neutrality did not mean moral neutrality. Switzerland mobilized an army of 600,000 to protect its liberties by force, if necessary. The Church stood by the nation, aware that it, too, must mobilize its vital moral and spiritual resources on behalf of the country. There was no disagreement on this objective between the four racial and linguistic components of Switzerland nor between the Catholics and Protestants of the country.

The twenty-two evangelical Churches, since 1920 united in

a strong federation, took stock of their spiritual heritage. Would it be strong enough to stand the greatest test of its history? What was the mission of the Church in this world conflagration, and what did we have to oppose to the rising pagan temptation to Christianity? In facing the situation, the evangelical Church realized anew that Switzerland had been the origin of a world-wide Reformation due to the work of Ulrich Zwingli in Zurich and John Calvin in Geneva, deeply influencing the Reformation in France, Holland, Scotland, Hungary, and America. It became vividly conscious of the distinctively Reformed elements in our evangelical tradition; above all, of spiritual independence of political authority so heavily stressed by both Calvin and Zwingli.

A Reformed Church is far from the mute subservience to the State which was so fatal wherever the State imposed a totalitarian regime on any nation. In his theocracy, Calvin insisted that "the inferior magistrates rise against the superior magistrates" and remind them that even rulers are under the will of God. (Centuries later, this Calvinistic principle of the sovereignty of God was to become a strong weapon in the hands of the German Confessional Church during the resistance!)

Another Reformed principle which took on new significance during the war years is the relative amount of independence which the congregation enjoys. The Church is built from below, from the congregation, from the people, and not from above, from a Church government or episcopacy.

This characteristic Reformed principle in the structure of the Church leaves much liberty to individual interpretations.

After the First World War, when the Reformed Church in Switzerland was confronted with the rising tide of nationalistic paganism and scientific relativism, it was felt that a traditionally pietistic Church, with its bourgeois complacency and

moralistic misinterpretation of the transcendent Gospel of Christ, could hardly stand up under the influences and temptations of a new secularistic era. The challenge was therefore issued by certain theological leaders: "Back to our sources!" The Swiss Reformation had built up its spiritual and theological foundation on the works of Zwingli, Calvin, and Bullinger, and possessed in the "Synodus of Berne" and in the "Heidelberg Catechism" an arsenal of faith and theological thinking which could still furnish the weapons for the moral and spiritual battle in which the Church now became involved.

It seems nearly incredible that theology should have had any influence on a war situation where the final decision appears to have rested with guns, airplanes, submarines, and bombs. Yet, in the moral resistance against the tremendous wave of modern paganism rising in the totalitarian states, this theology was worth an army in the ideological and spiritual combat against an invisible enemy, against the glorification of finite human forces seeking to replace the coming Kingdom of God by an actual dictatorship of men. It proved to be the tocsin ringing suddenly in the night, rousing the countryside for miles around.

The new "dialectic" theology stressed, first of all, the original Calvinistic principle of the sovereignty of God with such vigor that it liberated Christians from the fear of men, governments, and human leaders, and became a sword of the spirit against materialism and titanism. In the first declaration of faith adopted by the Confessional Church in Germany, at Barmen, in 1934, the Church declared explicitly that it recognized Jesus Christ as its sole and exclusive leader and Lord, and that there could be no other *Fuehrer*. This document, due largely to the inspiration of Karl Barth, became the first "declaration of independence" of the Church of the resistance in Germany, and it did not take long to make the Swiss Churches under-

stand that our own liberty and faith was menaced by an anti-Christian conspiracy. Brunner in Zurich and Turneysen in Basel seconded their friend Barth—then in Germany as professor of theology at Goettingen and Bonn. Minor theological differences between these theologians did not matter in establishing the battle-line of our historic faith against a decidedly anti-Christian front.

Two other factors in the "theology of crisis" became instrumental in strengthening the resistance of the Church: the Christocentric accent on Grace alone, and its fundamentally eschatological character. In a day of apocalyptic tremors, when millions stare hopelessly into the abyss of hunger, of destitution and despair, an eschatological message pointing toward the ultimate victory of God is not only a revitalizing power for a weakening faith but often the last consolation for those dying in solitary starvation without seeing the promised victory of the Lord.

However, this militant theology represents only one wing of Swiss Protestantism. Beside it runs a strong liberal element which was revived by the dialectical attack on rationalistic and humanistic theology. Then, too, there is a pietistic and orthodox group which will not accept certain elements of biblical criticism contained in the dialectic theology nor its aggressive intervention in the political sphere. Yet another group, the "Religious Socialists," are unwilling to attach such importance to mere theology in a time of tremendous practical needs. They oppose to the alleged intellectualism of the "theology of the Church" an activist theology of the Kingdom of God and stress the contrast between faith and religion.

Just before the outbreak of the war, the Swiss people arranged a national exhibition showing not merely the results of their labors in the agricultural, economic, and industrial fields, but also those of their cultural, educational, and humanitarian

efforts. The Roman Catholic Church as well as the Protestant Churches gave an impressive picture of what Christian charity was able to achieve, quietly and unobtrusively, for old, sick, and abandoned people, the victims of social and economic conflict, of crime, of lack of education.

The gratitude felt by the Swiss for their preservation from the recent holocaust has served to increase their feeling of solidarity with those who suffer. More than ever, hearts and souls were opened to the waves of misery which beat upon our frontiers, offsetting the danger that the narrow escape from the continental disaster might induce complacency, on the one hand, or the hardening of hearts that sometimes supervenes when the surrounding distress is too great, or even the danger that charity might become an "escape" from the deeper problems of our own moral existence.

One of the hopeful social forces is a strong and very active Christian Youth Movement which sprang up originally in the German-speaking Churches and is now focused in the federation known as "The Young Church" (*Junge Kirche*). A similar movement has arisen in the French-speaking cantons. The Swiss Church Federation helped to create youth centers in various parts of the country while the Young Church movement, including the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., organized a remarkable relief work for youth in the war-stricken countries, closely relating the work to the Federation's Relief and Reconstruction program. Thousands of young people in Holland, France, Hungary, and other countries were helped in various ways, many of them being invited to come to camps in Switzerland.

The Youth Movement owes a great part of its inspiration to intensive Bible study. Indeed, the Bible has come into its own again throughout Switzerland. The Swiss Bible Society has had to increase its output of Bibles over and above the require-

ments of the neighboring countries where large numbers of Bibles were destroyed in the war. The Bible is also the inspiration of a new evangelistic movement, showing itself in a number of diverse trends from the Oxford Group Movement to other groups which no longer believe in secular progress or political conferences but solely in the regenerative power of the Word of God. There is wide-spread recognition of the failure of our religious education really to touch and change the lives of Church members.

A helpful instrument in developing a deeper fellowship between the Churches both at home and abroad is the Evangelical Press Service, operating under the auspices of the Swiss Church Federation. When the country became more or less cut off from international contacts, as was the case after 1942, the effort of this Press Service under its director, Dr. Arthur Frey, to maintain a constant flow of information across the boundaries was of the utmost importance. Together with the information service of the World Council, it labored successfully to keep our international vision clear and to help us to distinguish between the hidden poison of propaganda and the necessary daily bread of truth.

Missionary work in evangelical Switzerland is more than a hundred years old, having its beginnings with the founding of the Basle Mission, still the outstanding missionary society of the country. It is not a *Church* enterprise, as it is in most of the Western Churches, but a private undertaking which, nevertheless, has the strong support of the Churches and of the Swiss Church Federation.

Help brought to foreign missions as a whole by the orphaned missions campaign of the International Missionary Council did not greatly benefit the Swiss missions. Any benefit therefrom was only indirect.

At present, the Swiss missionary societies are in a difficult

situation both financially and in regard to personnel. They are far from being able to meet the demands for nearly two hundred missionaries needed to continue the work in their present fields. It is regrettable that the missionary message never took hold in our student world as it did in America. The interest in missions suffered when international relations were cut off, and, unfortunately, efforts toward better co-operation between the various missionary societies did not get very far—hardly beyond a rather vague consultative relationship.

The present situation does not permit the societies to start a new, courageous work on the mission field, quite apart from the desire of the Younger Churches for more independence. A period of quiet waiting seems to be indicated, in the hope that a co-operative international solution of the present problems can be discovered.

The Christian people of Switzerland consider it providential that Swiss Protestantism was united, or at least associated, before the war, in the "Federation of Swiss Evangelical Churches," comprising twenty-two cantonal Churches and the Methodist Church, in all about 2,400,000 members. It was unthinkable that these small Church bodies, separated from each other by hundreds of years of individual existence, could stand up alone under the disintegrating influence of the war. Nor could they have done what united Swiss Protestantism accomplished in the way of relief between the two World Wars and after the start of the Second.

The co-operative action of the Federation, like that of the American Federal Council of Churches, takes place through a number of joint commissions, covering social work, foreign and home missions, theology, and other fields. During the war, the Executive Council of the Federation entered into close contact with the government in regard to military chaplaincies. Catholic and Protestant Churches worked together to maintain

the spiritual contact of the army with the home, the family, and the Church.

The Federation has succeeded in developing among Swiss Protestants the consciousness of a common spiritual heritage and of a great common cause of reconstruction. The necessity for developing this federative activity has led the Council recently to establish a full-time Secretariat to take care of its own administrative work and to carry on tasks of reconstruction in common with the World Council of Churches.

The Swiss Churches are conscious of the fact that the Ecumenical Movement in its initial stage, as represented in the Life and Work and Faith and Order Movements, was undergoing its apprenticeship in making concrete a great idea the incarnation and practical effect of which on the world needed much more time, patience, and experience than was anticipated originally. They were deeply interested in this movement from the early days when the Life and Work Movement was started in a preliminary conference at Geneva, in 1920, under the leadership of Archbishop Soederblom.

The new message of the *Una Sancta* (or at least of close co-operation between the Churches) was heard with gratitude and enthusiasm by some, but met with criticism or indifference on the part of others. Even among the ministry, opinions varied. In those years, Switzerland gave hospitality to a large number of international conferences and meetings which seemed to prepare the way for a stronger and more united Christianity, especially for its social, educational, and missionary work. The secretariat of Life and Work was established in Geneva, where also the first Christian Social Institute (later the World Council's Research Department) was founded, as well as the Ecumenical Seminary. These activities constituted a training center for hundreds of theologians, professors, and students who met annually for a summer session in ecumenical

studies. This Seminar continues today on a larger scale as the World Council's Ecumenical Training Institute in the Chateau Bossey near Geneva.

The vibrations of a new ecumenical hope were certainly felt in a large circle of our Churches. For a long time, however, the conferences, committees, and institutions of the Ecumenical Movement, though tackling their tasks with enthusiasm and vigor, found only a weak response in the Christian world. They were unable to carry with them the weight of institutional tradition and conservative denominationalism in the effort to transform the pulverized multitude of the Churches into the *Una Sancta*. The economic crisis of 1929 and a certain Western isolationism, similar to that which proved fatal to the League of Nations, became obstacles in the way of a movement which had just entered a phase where much preliminary organizational and educational work had to be done before deeper problems could be approached.

However, the meeting in Geneva in February, 1946, of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, organized in 1937, proved to be a turning-point in popular interest as well as an overture to the post-war era in international Church relationships. In particular, the great worship service held in Calvin's Cathedral was a visible expression of an indestructible belief in the Christian fellowship which had been so severely tried during the war. This demonstration of Christian unity made a deep impression on the Swiss people at the very scene of the former League of Nations, the secular program of which could not keep the nations together in spite of their thirst for peace. The imposing meeting in St. Peter's was an answer to certain criticisms (mostly from the dialectic group) that an earlier and prophetic manifestation against Church persecution and the fury of Nazism had not been forthcoming. The critics had forgotten the democratic nature

of the as yet incomplete structure of the World Council of Churches "in process of formation." The structure of the Council was such that it did not allow political declarations, not only for lack of proper authority, but also because of the necessary regard for the Confessional Church in the occupied countries, which would have been exposed to considerable additional danger by such premature and unauthorized manifestations.

The Swiss Church Federation remains firmly attached to the concept and hope of the World Council of Churches in its widest interpretation. At its General Assembly in Schaffhausen, the Council was charged by a resolution to ask for a revision of the Preamble of the World Council's proposed constitution because it seems to offer too narrow a basis for the future structure of the Council.

The future of the Ecumenical Movement as a whole lies in God's hands. It is still undergoing criticism from the pietists, from the "Religious Socialists," and from the dialectic group. Its critics are afraid lest so much officialdom, ecclesiasticism, and institutionalism may be brought back under its aegis that it may succumb to the temptation to bring about an approximate restoration of the past instead of a fundamental Christian revolution "making all things new." The Ecumenical Movement in this way shares the position of the Church itself. In many of the war-stricken countries, the Church could not save the congregations, but the Church itself was saved by the faith and courage and sacrifice of the congregations, the essential parts of the Universal Church. It remains to be seen how deeply the concept of the *Una Sancta* can penetrate the congregations.

The Swiss Churches have already proved faithful pioneers and followers of the Ecumenical Movement. They consider it to be almost the last hope of the world in the present situation

—a hope not founded on trust in conferences or committees or administrative machinery, but in the Lord of the Church who alone can fill the work of the Churches with His Spirit, His strength, and with that ecumenical fraternity which His love engenders in Christian brethren in all nations and all Churches.

7

ITALY

P. J. Zaccara

ITALY AND Protestantism, in the minds of many, are two words which do not seem to belong together. When one thinks of Italy in connection with religion, one immediately envisions the home of the Vatican—the heart of Roman Catholicism—Cathedrals and catacombs, but certainly not Protestantism. But, Protestantism is there, and definitely playing a part in the life of a people who are religiously overstuffed but spiritually starved.

While in Italy, just before the war ended in 1945, a chaplain who had spent many hours with the Protestants in that country remarked to me: "These Protestants are the leavening lump in this desolate land." One senses it everywhere. However, to many Italians in Italy, the Protestants are misfits, rebels, or religious fanatics. This conclusion is simple to explain. In Italy, as in most "Catholic" countries, the mentality of the people toward other faiths is conditioned by the established Church which sets itself up as the only true Church, the only divinely appointed Church. Religious publications and a Church-controlled press combine in ridiculing Protestants, who are branded as heretics. One is tempted to ask: "Does not an Italian have the right to choose to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience?"

During my lifetime, I have had to answer one question which always follows the revelation that I am an Italian Protestant

minister. "Are not all Italians Roman Catholic?" This is a question which is not new to hundreds of thousands of Italian Protestants the world over; a question which, unfortunately, has been asked altogether too many times even by Protestants who should have known that there was a Protestant Church in Italy some three hundred years before Martin Luther or the Reformation was born. The glorious history of the Waldensian Church in its struggle for religious truth and freedom should become a *must* on the library shelf of every Protestant.

The history of Protestantism in Italy has been traced back to various sources; namely, Pierre De Bruys, Arnaldo Da Brescia, Peter Waldo, and others. But the historian, Comba, has summarized it beautifully: "There shines but one light in the midst of the protestations of the various men mentioned above . . . there is but one cry which brings forth a common inspiration: 'The return of the Evangelical Ideal.'" De Bruys was inspired to bring the Christian cult back to its original purity; Arnaldo Da Brescia to give apostolic independence back to the Church, and Waldo to replace on its candlestick the torch of the religious life. "Lux Lucet in Tenebris."

Somewhere between 1175 and 1180, with the movement of Peter Waldo, Evangelical Christianity was born. At first, Waldo sought to work with the approval of the Church of Rome, where he went to plead his case before Pope Alexander III. He was received with cordiality and it is said that one Cardinal, Di La Pouille, was so impressed that he secretly ordained Waldo to the priesthood (Comba, *Histoire des Vaudois*, Page 14). However, in 1183, the Council of Verona excommunicated him and his followers. Their answer is history: "We ought to obey God rather than man." The centuries have not changed that determination. John Milton caught this spirit when he described the Waldensians as:—

“having kept God’s truth so pure of old
when all our fathers worshipt stocks and stones.”

As one Italian official remarked: “If only our people could catch the Spirit, the faith, and honesty of the Waldensians! . . .”

After centuries of persecution, the Waldenses stand out as the strongest voice for Protestantism in Italy. They are fearless but humble, aggressive but not offensive in their aggression. Like Peter Waldo of old, they put their religion into daily living, thus making a greater impact upon the people of Italy. I have talked with many high-ranking officials of the post-war government, and all, including Signor Bonomi, spoke with highest regard and respect for the Waldensian Church. Bonomi took time to assure us that he was well acquainted with the Waldensian Church and knew of its fine work from Torre Pellice to Sicily. By virtue of their position and their age, as well as their number, the Waldenses could stand alone as they have through the centuries, although they choose to work in complete harmony with their brothers of other denominations to bring about a unity of effort in the total Evangelical movement in Italy. One is therefore not surprised at learning of the formation of The Federal Council of Evangelical Churches in Italy. I shall refer to this Council later.

The three main bodies composing the Protestant constituency in Italy are: The Waldensians, referred to above, and the Baptists, a strong body supported by the Southern Baptist Church, form a Church second in size to the Waldensians, but unlike the Waldensians, derives its main support from the United States. (The Southern Baptist Convention maintains two American missionaries in Rome who serve as guides rather than supervisors. They have an aggressive missionary program throughout all of Italy and are working in harmony with other denominations.) The third is Methodist Episcopal Church,

newly united with the Wesleyan Methodists. This is the first step in the ultimate union with the Waldensian Church. The Wesleyan Methodists had already agreed to the union with the Waldensians, but it was thought best to unite both Methodist groups first and then bring about the final union. This is considered in many circles as a great forward step in solidifying Protestant effort in Italy. There is also a sizable group of Seventh Day Adventists and Brethren (not to be confused with the United Brethren), and a rapidly growing Pentecostal Church. Still smaller groups, like the Salvation Army and Christian Scientists, round out the Protestant picture in Italy.

There has been much discussion concerning the Protestant population of Italy. How many are there? This author is now gathering statistics from the various denominational headquarters in Italy. The study is not yet complete but all indications point to a figure of close to 350,000 who can be counted as Protestants. But if we were to include potential Protestants, that is, those now attending and some who are sympathetic but not yet taken into full communion, the figure would be closer to 500,000. These figures would seem out of proportion if compared with the figures in the census of 1931 unless one knew the facts concerning the taking of the 1931 census. In the questionnaire of that census (family blank column 23) one was not permitted to declare his faith but could only state a simple fact: whether he was or was not baptized and, if in the affirmative, according to what rite. Thus, if a person was baptized in infancy in the Roman Catholic Communion and was later converted to Protestantism, or even if he fell away from all religion and became an atheist, he still counted among the Roman Catholics. On that basis, this author, who was born and baptized a Roman Catholic and is now a Presbyterian minister, would still be counted in the Roman Catholic Communion along with thousands of his colleagues.

A study of the census figures will reveal the importance of knowing the above facts in order to get the real picture. The 1921 census did not concern itself with the distribution of population according to professed religion, but the following chart for 1901, 1911, and 1931 presents a rather interesting picture.

1901		1911	
Evangelical	65,595	Evangelical	123,253
Hebrew	36,617	Hebrew	34,324
Greek Orthodox	2,472	Greek Orthodox	1,378
Moslem	388	Other cults	822
Atheist	36,092	Declared without religion	874,522
Indifferent	795,276	No declaration	653,404
Balance Roman Catholics		Balance Roman Catholics	
1931			
Inhabitants	41,709,581		
Evangelical	82,569		
Hebrew	47,485		
Greek Orthodox	5,896		
Moslem	814		
Declared without religion	17,483		
Balance all Roman Catholics			

The vast changes in the figures showing the Protestant population over the thirty year period represented above is easily explained. The increase between 1901 and 1911 was due to various new denominations, such as the Adventists, Brethren, and Pentecostal, which came into being in Italy during that period. The latter denomination spread across Italy so rapidly that Pope Pius declared, "That movement

has invaded every parish in our blessed country." He appealed to Mussolini, and, in 1935, the Pentecostals were prohibited from having services in Italy on the basis that "the movement was constituted by individuals who were suffering from religious mania and mystic excitement." They went underground during Fascism, emerging only when the United States troops occupied Italy. Their present status is uncertain and will remain so until a new law permits them to function.

The leading Protestant authorities in Italy feel that this increase in the Protestant population was the cause for the elimination of the religious question in the 1921 census and the new approach based on Baptism in the 1931 census. Such an approach brought amazing results as the above chart will show. For a Roman Catholic country, the figures for 1931 show up much better than those for 1911, in proportion to the population; not too many Protestants and only 17,483 non-religious. In the breakdown for the period between 1911 and 1931, the figures show the Jewish population increasing by 13,161 and the Greek Orthodox population increasing by 4,518, but the Protestant population decreasing by 40,684. Even more amazing than that, 1,527,926 Italians who declared themselves as having no religion or who made no declaration whatever in 1911, were reduced in number to a mere 17,483 in 1931. The question, "where were you baptized?", therefore, eliminated all those who had previously made no declaration or had disassociated themselves from all Communions. It also eliminated the majority of those connected with the new denominations, since most of them were converts from Catholicism.

If one follows the growth of the Protestants from 1901 to 1911 and then assumes the same proportion of growth between that period and the present, bearing in mind the new Communions added in Italy, the figure of approximately 500,000 does not seem out of proportion.

Out of the war, this group emerges badly shaken physically but numerically and spiritually strong.

The long period of occupation by the Allied armies has immeasurably helped and strengthened the Protestants' position. Their churches have been visited and used by the American and British Protestants by the thousands, bringing encouragement and a sense of oneness with their Christian brothers from across the sea.

Relief materials and funds from the World Council of Churches—World Service, Church of the Brethren, Waldensian Aid Society, and the National Evangelical Committee—have deeply stirred the grateful Protestants of Italy. They are steadily developing an awareness that they are no longer alone but part of a great army.

There is one gap, however. At the close of my last visit to Italy, as we sat with Church leaders in Rome, I asked this question: "As we leave for America, will you tell us what is your greatest need so that we may present it to the American people?" The answer should stir every Protestant the world over. They said: "We need, of course, your money, your clothing, your books, but more important than all of this, we need religious liberty, the kind of liberty that is enjoyed by religious minorities in America. This we cannot have until the Concordat is abolished." We left Italy wishing that we could make up a "package" of religious liberty and send it off to them as easily as we could send clothing.

They were greatly encouraged, however, when we told them of the existence and work of the American Committee for Religious Liberty in Italy, and that we were as much concerned about their liberty as they were themselves. This committee, of which I am chairman, and Dr. Charles Fama, lay chairman, with Reverend F. J. Panetta, Secretary, has been active for more than four years. It represents over four hundred churches,

mostly Italian, and has been in constant touch with the Post War Italian Government, the American Government, and now the United Nations Organization. Its purpose is to plead the cause of religious liberty for the minority groups of Italy.

The leaders of the four main Protestant Churches in Italy (Waldensian, Baptist, Methodist, Wesleyan Methodist) immediately requested that their names be placed on the American Committee for Religious Liberty in Italy letterhead and that they be permitted to function in Italy as a branch of that committee. We notified them of the work and interest of the World Council of Churches and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. They were overjoyed when they learned that the World Council had requested and was promised that a clause on religious liberty would be written into the Peace Treaty with Italy. They expressed gratitude for the spirit which induced American Protestants and Protestants the world over to join them in their struggle for religious liberty.

Reference was made to a Federal Council of Evangelical Churches in Italy. Organized by the four main denominations, the Council has invited all Protestant bodies to join hands in a united effort for Protestantism in Italy. In August, 1945, the newly formed Federal Council drew up a declaration and sent it to each member of the Constituent Assembly, now in session forming the new constitution of Italy. I incorporate it in this chapter in a condensed form because of its value to World Protestantism. A complete copy is also being sent by our American Committee for Religious Freedom in Italy to each delegate of the United Nations Organization in New York. The text follows:

ON FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND WORSHIP

PREAMBLE

The Federal Council of the Evangelical Churches in Italy feels duty bound to call to the attention of the members of the Constituent Assembly the imperative necessity that in the new Italian Constitution there be affirmed, in an explicit and unequivocal manner, the right of freedom of conscience and worship.

Such liberty—unknown to the Italian State before 1848—was included, both in an offensive and restricted form, in the Albertine Statute, which proclaimed only a tolerance of non-Catholic cults, in conformity to the professed belief which recognized Roman Catholicism as the only religion of the State. The liberal governments, which followed the unity of Italy up to Fascism, tried partially to mitigate this condition of juridical inferiority and disparity of treatment toward the religious minorities, gradually reducing the confessionality of the State in its legislation and government polity. But the laws enacted under Fascism, in 1929 (signing of the Concordat) brought Italy to the position of a declared and enforced confessionality, by which the words “admitted cults” (*culti Ammessi*) was applied to the minority cults, reducing them to a juridical inferiority, more marked than the pre-existent word “Tolerance.”

Now, in this new democratic Italy, the religious minorities assert the urgent necessity for the abolition of such a disparity. They claim instead that before the State and its laws all citizens should have equal treatment, regardless of their professed or unprofessed religion.

Religious liberty, intimately connected with liberty of conscience, is one of the fundamental tenets of a Civil State; and, an authentic civil and political human liberty cannot exist without a clear proclamation and an absolute guarantee of religious liberty equal to all.

Every concession of disparity which grants a special privilege for some and creates for others a state of inferiority and disfavor, is offensive to the civil and political cohesion of the nation and disturbs that unity of sentiments and goals in the research of the common-weal which *can* exist among citizens of the same country independently of their belief or disbelief. Unity can only be had in a reciprocal respect for the belief and opinions vested in liberty.

For the establishment of such a spiritual unity and juridical equality, a clear-cut and definite constitutional guarantee of liberty of conscience and worship is an indispensable necessity.

The Federal Council of the Evangelical Churches in Italy cannot abstain from solemnly reminding the Constituent Assembly that a true democratic constitution of the State, not only in its juridical structure, but also in a reaffirmation of the fundamental values of the spirit—the only true values which can guarantee a durable life—is inconceivable without the affirmation of liberty of conscience and worship. This liberty, by its own nature and lofty moral values, reaches the root of the human spirit and it is therefore the denominator, the unchangeable basis for all other liberties, and, above all, the indispensable condition for their free exercise.

Italy will really become a democratic nation when the Italians will learn to live freely in their own religious faith while fully respecting the freedom of all other faiths in the equality of the juridical treatment of all cults; and when it will be possible to extend, even to Italy, the recognition contained in the broadcast of Pope Pius XII of July, 1941, to the Catholics of the United States on the occasion of the Eucharistic celebration: "You are living in a country where the tradition of human liberty permits you to practice your own faith without difficulties or impediments."

II. FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

As an expression of the above-mentioned exigencies, the Federal Council of the Evangelical Churches in Italy proposes to the Constituent Assembly the proclamation of the following principles:

A. Declaration of full and complete freedom of conscience for all. This concept which the Italian legislatures of the various times considered a principle which no modern State could repudiate, has not, up to this date, been affirmed in any article of the Italian Constitution. It is, therefore, necessary that such an omission be corrected and that the constitution of Italy be brought up to the same level of that of all other modern states.

Freedom of conscience implies for all citizens the privilege of the following rights:

1. Liberty of professing one's own ideas whether they do or do not conform to a religious creed.

2. Liberty of discussing, proclaiming, and propagating one's own ideas through the spoken word, the printing-press and the radio, in relation to the opinion of others.

3. Liberty of assembly and reunion for religious purposes and full liberty of celebrating in public, as well as in private, one's own cult.

4. Equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law, independently of the fact that they profess a determined religion or none at all; and the respect of all religious confessions in the persons and in the rights of their members.

B. *Declaration of equality of cults before the law.* By virtue of this principle, discarding any confessional position, we appeal, in behalf of all religious confessions, for an absolute parity of juridical treatment which, abolishing every privilege or restriction, would leave the Churches free in their spiritual activities within the common right.

Such a principle, in concrete, implies the following position as to the various religions:

1. Full liberty and independence from the State for all religious ministers of every cult.

2. Liberty of opening places of worship.

3. An open door that would permit the entities of the cults to be declared moral entities, should they request it.

4. Equality of juridical treatment for all cults in legislation of a tributary, administrative, scholastic, military, penal, or social character, in the press or in any other matter.

C. *Proclamation of religious neutrality of the State.* This principle does not imply that the State should be atheistic, anti-religious, or simply agnostic; it implies, on the contrary, that, in realizing separation in its relation to the Churches, the State should be impartial, declaring its own incompetence in theological matters and, therefore, its neutral attitude in relation to the different churches, thus affirming its attitude of equity toward all religions.

The principle of religious neutrality of the State implies, in practice, the following:

1. Freedom of the public schools from *any* confessional influence.

2. Freedom of private religious teaching and of all religious institutions.

3. The State reaffirm for all the exclusive nature of matrimony which would grant civil legality to any matrimony and its issue, regardless of what religious rite or cult may be selected by the betrothed.

With the affirmation of these principles, the Federal Council of the Evangelical Churches in Italy, is profoundly conscious of the absolute value contained in the Christian faith of all confessions pertaining to it, and therefore, affirms the necessity that the action of the State *be inspired* by those lofty Christian principles; but it sees, also, the necessity that such a position, universally Christian, should clearly exclude any limitation in a confessional sense. The Federal Council of the Evangelical Churches in Italy is mindful that the State—in homage to liberty of conscience—should take into account even the rights of the non-Christian cults and the position of those who live their life outside of the bounds of religion.

The concept to which the Federal Council of the Evangelical Churches in Italy adheres could be defined as a neutral separatism which places the State on a religious, but not confessional, level, and offers to all Churches the possibility of collaborating in the spiritual, moral, and civil elevation of its citizens, permitting them to act according to their own principles within the bounds of the law.

This carefully worded statement of the Federal Council of the Evangelical Churches in Italy is an indication of the kind of pressure that was exerted against all minority groups in Italy prior to the war. It reveals the position of the Protestant Church especially. Liberty, or freedom of conscience as interpreted in the above document, was certainly non-existent for, if it were, they would not be asking for it.

Of course, if one were to visit Italy today, he would find very little restriction or pressure on Protestantism. This is due to the fact that the Allies still occupy the country and no real law pertaining to religion has been clarified. Unlike Germany, where the Concordat has been abolished because it was drawn up between the Vatican and a now non-existent government, the Concordat in Italy is still very much in evidence, with the Vatican determined to keep it in force. But, in spite of all this, at present, the Protestant Church, and other minority groups in Italy, are enjoying what might be called full religious liberty, as we in America understand and interpret religious

liberty. For the first time in their history, they are permitted use of the radio. They may conduct open-air meetings and use printed matter as a means of propaganda. Even the Pentecostal Church has been permitted to conduct services. This freedom, however, was granted by the Military Government shortly after the occupation and, while it has not yet been rescinded, no official statement has been issued by the Italian Government to indicate that the present condition will long prevail. Thus far, while every other law and pact made under Fascism has been abolished, the Concordat—an agreement between the Fascist government and the Vatican—still stands, though it is not now being enforced. Under the Concordat, the liberty above-mentioned would be choked off, and the Protestant Church, as well as other minorities, would again fall into the category of "tolerated sects," whose freedom would depend largely upon the interpretation of the law by the local prefect, and the attitude of the bishop in that district. For example, Pope Pius XI in a letter to Cardinal Gasparri, dated May 30th, 1929, a little more than a month after the signing of the Concordat, said in part: "In a Catholic State, liberty of conscience and of discussion must be interpreted and practiced according to Catholic doctrine and law." Thus the written law is interpreted by the Vatican as a guide for the enforcers. The Protestant Church is hoping that the Concordat will be abolished, and has so indicated in an appeal to the government. They ask for full religious liberty on a par with the Catholics, with freedom of propaganda and public worship; freedom to teach and to carry on missionary activities and freedom to acquire and hold property for such purposes. All of which can be acquired only with the elimination of the Concordat.

This feeling against the Concordat is not limited to the Protestants but is wide-spread throughout all Italy because of the ramifications of the Concordat. School, family, and the

law of the land come under the influence and in part under the direct control of the Vatican. In an article published in a Rome newspaper, dated October 20, 1946, the Concordat was described as a monstrous instrument with which the Papal court seeks to govern Italy. The article suggests that the date of the signing of the Concordat, February 11th, 1929, be remembered as a day of mourning. It states in part: "The event was called conciliation, and a national holiday was declared, but it would have been better to have included it among the days of national mourning because it was the day which marked the death of our liberty, the little liberty that was left us by Fascism. That day saw only the conciliation of two rivals who agreed to a better distribution of the spoils of our country, and it is useless to remember that the lion's part went to the Vatican. February 11th, 1929, hostilities were reopened between Italy and the Papal court, reenforced by the armies of the traitor Mussolini."

Those are strong words but they are the words of a liberty-loving people striving to breathe free air after too long a period of confinement. They have had enough of tyrants, they want to walk as God's children should walk, free and clear of conscience, to enjoy His gifts. The thirteen million people who voted for a republic in Italy in spite of the Church's pressure represent the torch of liberty. They seek the truth that will make them free. May God grant it to them, and may the small but inspiring Protestant Church of Italy be richly blessed in its mission. "Lux Lucet in Tenebris."

8

SPAIN

Hispanófilo

IN ORDER to understand the situation today of the Evangelical Church in Spain, one must know something of its background. It will be remembered that the Reformation, which seemed destined to sweep through Spain, was ruthlessly crushed by the Inquisition. For several centuries, there was no trace left of evangelical Christianity. About 1830, we hear of secret propaganda in Madrid, followed a little later by Borrow's famous endeavor to circulate the Scriptures throughout the peninsula. But the harsh repressive measures adopted by the Roman Catholic Government prevented any rapid increase, though it did not altogether destroy the work then begun.

It was not until the revolution of 1868, when religious liberty was declared, that evangelical Christianity began to spread and take root. Alas! this refreshing breeze of liberty soon disappeared. In 1873, persecution again broke out and effectively hampered the growth of the Church, which made little or no progress for nearly sixty years. Then, in 1931, the new Republic was proclaimed. In the interests of truth, let me say in passing that this republican government was neither Communist nor Socialist, neither was it anti-religious, though it was certainly anti-clerical, and one of its first decrees was to grant religious liberty. It was a marvelous occasion for the Evangelical Church, which was not slow to seize the opportunity and to come out into the open. A National Committee for evangelism was

formed, and extensive campaigns were carried on throughout Spain. Large and enthusiastic meetings were held in casinos, theatres, bull-rings, and market-squares, while the usual church services showed greatly increased attendances.

Again, alas! the newly found liberty soon came to an end. In 1933, reaction set in which considerably curtailed the liberties previously enjoyed, and, in 1936, the counter-revolution broke out under General Franco, with the almost unanimous backing of the Roman Catholic Church, which gave him its official blessing. In most of the area under his control, many Protestants were imprisoned, exiled, or executed, and their places of worship closed.

In 1939, Franco gained complete control of the country and almost all religious liberty disappeared. Of the 200 or so evangelical churches, halls, or rooms licensed for public worship, about 180 were closed and in these districts no meetings, public or private, were allowed. Quite a few evangelicals were imprisoned for meeting together, just a few at a time, for prayer and worship. There were some exceptions, notably in Madrid and Seville, where the evangelical churches remained open. This fact accounts for conflicting opinions concerning religious liberty in Spain. For instance, the three Spanish ministers in Seville were asked to sign a statement to the effect that they enjoyed religious liberty. As this was actually the case in their city, the document was signed. It was then used by General Franco's propagandists to prove that Spain as a whole enjoyed religious liberty. Distinguished foreign visitors, mainly British, taken to Seville, interviewed one or more of the ministers to see for themselves that there was liberty, and then, judging from this one place, proclaimed that there was liberty in all Spain. This was absolutely untrue, for in the greater part of Spain savage reprisals were taken against any who dared to maintain their evangelical faith. A large num-

ber of Evangelicals were imprisoned, mainly on trumped-up political charges. But in most cases no charge at all was preferred and they simply languished in prison for years, some of them dying through starvation and the terrible conditions prevailing. Owing to fear of reprisals no names of persons or places can be given, but the World's Evangelical Alliance, at its London headquarters, is in full possession of the facts which no doubt in due time will be published.

It is only right to say that in some instances the political accusation of favoring the Republican cause was true, so that not every case of imprisonment of Evangelicals can be laid to the door of religious persecution. It is not surprising that a number of Evangelicals who had been laboring under great difficulties for many years should welcome the Republic with open arms, for it was this Republic which gave them religious liberty, for which they had for years been praying and working. But the great majority of those who were thus persecuted had no political affiliation; and the real grounds of their imprisonment, death, or exile were religious. It is also only fair to say that, even in Spain, a very small minority of the Roman Catholic hierarchy was not in favor of persecution, and, outside Spain, both in Great Britain and the United States, there were leading Roman Catholic dignitaries who were greatly concerned, though I do not know of any actual steps being taken to make their disapproval felt.

This state of affairs lasted until 1945. Up to this time, General Franco had persistently backed the Hitler régime and, confident that Germany would win, did all he could, short of declaring war, to help the Nazis and hinder the Allies. When it became certain that he had backed the wrong horse and that the Allies were going to win the war, he gradually changed his attitude and sought to give some semblance of democracy to his régime by the introduction of the Bill of Rights. The

Bill, on July 13, 1945, was unanimously passed by the Cortes, the so-called Parliament, not elected by the people but appointed by Franco, and completely subservient to him. The Bill begins with an excellent preamble, and its various articles contain much that is good and just. The promise of recognition of human rights is, however, vitiated by ambiguous wording and an article enabling the government to modify or annul at will any or all of its provisions.

In view of this Bill, some evangelical communities were emboldened to ask for permission to reopen their halls for worship. In two or three cases permission was granted, but in most places the local authorities availed themselves of the ambiguity referred to above and refused the appeal. In October of that year, a circular was sent to all the Provincial Governors of Spain ordering them to give every facility for the reopening of evangelical places of worship. In most of the larger centers no difficulty was experienced and the places of worship were duly opened; but in some country districts the authorities are still withholding permission and the believers are unable to meet for worship.

What effect have the terrible happenings of the last ten years had on the Evangelical Church?

In May, 1946, the International Committee, composed of representatives of most of the twenty or so missionary societies working in Spain, met in Paris for the first time since 1939. Reports from all parts of Spain were received and carefully studied. The writer has also been able to visit Spain twice under the Franco régime and has discussed this situation fully with leaders in that country, so that a fairly clear picture can be obtained. All the reports agree more or less on the following points:

In spite of the terrible persecution and loss of members through death, imprisonment, or exile, most Societies report

considerable advance in numbers even in those centers where not even private meetings were allowed. Meetings were held, of course, but under threat of fine, imprisonment, or even death. The writer had the privilege of taking part in some of these forbidden meetings. Attendance was by invitation and limited to eight or nine persons. When the number was complete, all doors and windows were barred and bolted and the service began. No hymns were sung, as that would have been too dangerous, but prayer was offered and the Word of God read and expounded. At one time, just after the meeting commenced, someone tried the door handle in the street and one could see a shudder pass through the worshiping congregation. Was it the Spanish Gestapo, trained by the Germans? Fortunately, it was a false alarm; but in some cases such a meeting has been surprised and those present taken to prison. Even in these circumstances, some churches reported a doubling of their membership during the last ten years. One denomination, responsible for nineteen churches, reports that in the last four years it has received 523 new communicant members. The complete figures for all the Societies are not available, but probably the average gain for all the churches, in spite of very heavy losses, would amount to at least forty per cent. In three or four centers, there has been an exceptional manifestation of the Holy Spirit, almost amounting to revival, and scores of lives have been completely changed. Almost everywhere today the newly opened churches are crowded with eager worshipers and others anxious to hear the evangelical message.

One must not forget the other side. Apart from losses through death, exile, and imprisonment, quite a few have not been able to stand up to the persecution and have left their first love. This is not surprising; the wonder is that there are so few. There have been several cases of faithfulness unto death.

Children's work presents difficult problems. During the war

years, with few exceptions, no work at all could be carried on among the children and, even now, it is greatly handicapped. In some parts of the country, no child is allowed to attend the State elementary school without a baptismal certificate from the priest, so that it is impossible to give the children elementary education. Where they are allowed to attend, they are obliged to learn the Roman Catholic catechism and to worship the image of the Virgin. Most Evangelical parents choose not to send their children to school. All Evangelical day schools were closed during the war period but one or two have now been reopened.

This means that there is more need than ever for instructing the children of Evangelicals in simple religious truths. Sunday schools for children have been restarted in many places but usually by untrained workers whose zeal does not always atone for their lack of knowledge. There is a wonderful opportunity for a full-time children's worker to visit and instruct the churches. Given the right leadership, children's work in Spain could be revolutionized.

During the war, all youth societies were disbanded by the government, but everywhere they were able to keep together and, now that there is a measure of liberty, are emerging stronger than ever and with great enthusiasm. It is noteworthy that many conversions during the past ten years have been among young people. During a special series of meetings in one church in Madrid, over thirty professed their desire to follow Christ and nearly all were young people! In another church, in the North West, during a Mission, some thirty-six accepted Christ as Saviour, and again most of these were young people. This gives great promise for the future of the work.

As Arango Garcia and Kenneth Grubb pointed out in *Religion in the Republic of Spain*, the evangelical Churches, largely as a result of official restrictions, became church—instead

of community-centered. There was very little vision of the need of Spain as a whole, with the inevitable result of all self-centered work—a weak and languishing spiritual life. The opportunities afforded by the liberty enjoyed under the Republic helped to show what could be done and gave a new impetus to Evangelism. This evangelistic spirit has evidently not died down during the recent years of persecution. The sufferings of the Church have purified and enriched it and made it more conscious of its mission to go and make disciples.

The enthusiasm for politics that invaded the Church at the commencement of the Republic has died down and some who were ardent politicians feel that they made a mistake and have decided to devote all their energies to direct evangelistic work.

It is worthy of note that Modernism is not prevalent in Spain and most Spanish workers would agree that this is just as well. It is certainly a fact that those Churches that have given a positive witness to the saving power of Christ through His death and resurrection are those that have been most successful in winning converts and in building up strong Churches.

The Spaniard is not naturally co-operative owing to the extreme individualism which all authorities agree is his most marked characteristic. The difficulty has been accentuated by the foreign missionaries, who have imported into Spain their denominational differences. For many years, there was keen rivalry among the various groups, amounting in some cases to hostility. Before the war, this lack of brotherly love and unity of spirit had been gradually disappearing, and the war has had a unifying influence. There is, today, an increased desire among almost all groups for closer co-operation. Generally speaking, the feeling is against the formation of a unified Church; the tendency is rather toward a loose federation, leaving each group at perfect liberty to continue its own distinctive practices.

With regard to the Ecumenical Movement, the Evangelical

Church in Spain knows little of world-trends and is only dimly conscious of any responsibility outside its own country. It has also to be remembered that the Church has suffered so terribly from persecution by the Roman Catholic Church, and is so deeply impressed with the spiritual decadence of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain, that it would not be sympathetic toward any movement which envisages some form of collaboration with that Church which has been its bitterest enemy.¹ In this connection, however, it is interesting to note that, whereas, in former years, a great deal of the preaching was anti-Romanist, today there is very little of this and the preaching generally is positive and constructive, with a very small controversial element. If the Roman Catholic Church were to practice that liberty of conscience in Spain that it demands for its own adherents in Protestant countries, the Evangelical Church would probably be quite willing to work on parallel lines even if it could not co-operate.

Perhaps the greatest benefit that the war has brought has been the growth of lay leadership. A large number of churches, comparatively speaking, were before the war dependent upon foreign leadership. In 1936, all the foreign workers had to leave the country, and these churches were thrown upon their own resources. In the remaining churches, about two-thirds of the Spanish pastors were either executed, imprisoned, or exiled, which left their churches also dependent upon lay leadership. There has been a notable response and some very fine and capable lay leaders have arisen. It is to be hoped that the foreign workers as they return will not discourage this development, which is one of the most hopeful features of the present situation.

¹ The author has apparently misconstrued the policy of the World Council of Churches, whose attitude is properly described in the sentence with which he concludes the paragraph. Editor.

There is a great lack of trained workers; many have died, others are in exile and will not all return, while some have taken up business careers and now do not wish to leave them. One of the most urgent needs is for the recommencement of training. The Madrid Seminary has been closed throughout the war and it is not yet certain when it will be able to reopen. Three or four men are in training in France and three are studying privately in Spain under the personal tuition of a former professor of the Madrid Seminary. As soon as permission can be obtained for the reopening of the Seminary, a commencement will be made, but it will inevitably be on a small scale and cannot possibly cope with the need. There are several schemes on foot for the commencement of a Bible Institute for the training of lay evangelists and pastors. It is hoped that these plans may be coordinated. Under wise leadership, they should be very useful in the coming days and help to make up for the lack of fully trained workers.

The Franco Government prohibited the printing and circulation of all evangelical literature during the war, including the so-called Protestant version of the Scriptures, and the prohibition appears to be still in force as I write (August, 1946). The whole stock of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Madrid, amounting to about 100,000 volumes, was destroyed. Previously, the authorities had collected all they could from the provinces and turned them into pulp, so that there is a famine of the Word of God in the land. In spite of the prohibition, however, quite a number of copies were circulated during the war years, and from ten to twelve clandestine evangelical papers were published, some of them with a circulation of about a thousand. There was only one case of suppression, quite recently, so that it is possible that the authorities turned a blind eye toward this effort. It is impossible

to do very much to supply the urgent need for Scriptures and evangelical literature until the ban is lifted.

Several of the evangelical leaders have become "literature-conscious" and, when conditions allow, are hoping to commence a literature campaign throughout Spain to counteract the atheistic and pornographic literature which has flooded the country in past years.

This survey would not be complete without a reference to the large number of Spanish refugees in other countries, mainly in France. Among them are a number of Evangelicals, including some thirty-three workers. Thus far, they have not dared to return as to do so would probably mean imprisonment or concentration camp. In Mexico, they have linked up with existing Churches, but in France, owing to the difficulty of language, this was not possible. Work was immediately organized among them, mainly under the able leadership of Pasteur J. Delpech, General Secretary of the Société Centrale Evangélique of France, and Superintendent of the French Mission of Aragón, now merged into the United Mission for the Evangelization of Spain. Five full-time workers are being employed in this task with most encouraging results and there have been some most striking conversions.

The Spanish Evangelicals in France have already held several Conferences and recently, quite on their own initiative, have formed a Committee for Evangelism among the Spaniards in France. When these Evangelicals are able to return to Spain, they should be a valuable addition to the work there.

The Evangelicals in Spain are full of hope for the future. They rejoice in the measure of liberty that has already been granted and believe that soon fuller liberty will be given.

This will depend, of course, upon political events. It is unsafe to prophesy regarding Spain, for there it is usually the unexpected that happens, but it is generally felt that General

Franco's régime cannot last much longer. If Franco's government is replaced by a monarchy, as some people hope, one trusts that it will give religious liberty, though past experience of the Monarchy does not encourage much optimism. If the Republic is restored, there is a slight risk that Communism may gain control, but in all probability a moderate Republican Government would be formed and this would insure religious liberty for all.

There is imperative need for a strong, aggressive Evangelical Church in Spain. I have referred to the decadence of spiritual life in the Roman Catholic Church in Spain. Lest I may be accused of Protestant bias, let me quote Cardinal Gibbons of the U.S.A.:

In Latin Europe there remain a Catholic heritage and tradition, but individual Catholicism, as such, is disappearing at an alarming rate. Nations like Spain continue to be Catholic because their forefathers were; but the individual spirit and sentiment of Catholicism exists no longer.

This is a true picture and the result is that the great majority of Spaniards will have nothing to do, except under compulsion, with the Roman Catholic Church. This does not mean that they are necessarily antireligious. There are very many who are seeking spiritual help outside the Roman Church. These are the people we need to help. Today there are probably many thousands who have lost their belief in human Utopias and are hungry for something to satisfy their deepest longings. They will not go to the Roman Catholic Church which they feel has betrayed them, but are, in increasing numbers, attending the services of the Evangelical Church. Given a measure of religious liberty, there is obviously an unparalleled opportunity before the Evangelical Church today in Spain.

PORTUGAL

Eduardo Moreira

IT WILL be of interest, first, to acquire some knowledge of Portugal's internal political situation, so far as it affects the non-Roman Christian minority. This, surely, is basic, so I need not seek to prove it.

Portugal is governed by delegates of the Army, which was victorious in the 1926 rising, putting an end to a lengthy period of political unrest. Dr. Salazar's relatively mild dictatorship has been run on corporative State lines with a Roman Catholic background. It has a Constitution, dating from 1933, which guarantees liberty of conscience, of worship, of expression of thought, of teaching, and for the holding of meetings; but since the Concordat and the Missionary Agreement with the Roman See, dating from 1940, it has, to all intents and purposes, handed back to the Roman Church missionary activities in its colonies in Africa, China, India, and Timor. It has also entrusted to that Church all moral teaching in schools, while further submitting to its control, or placing under its auspices, assistance to convicts and others—indeed, beneficent work in general.

To cite one instance illustrating the situation: dissenting parents, when demanding that their children be exempted from Roman Catholic religious instruction in their schools, must, according to an official ruling I have in my possession, cite Article 21 of the Concordat, whereby the Roman See grants

permission for such exemption! In the elementary schools there is for each class a *Livro Unico* (a one-and-only book) in which are inculcated image worship and doctrines which other forms of worship or religions cannot approve. And—an alarming symptom this—there has been scarcely any protest raised by evangelical Christians! So the head of the government was quite consistent when he declared to a journalist some years ago that in Portugal there are only Roman Catholics and the irreligious, implying that the non-Roman religious minority is quite negligible.

But this minority does indeed exist. Would, though, that it were imbued with a spirit of sacrifice instead of the spirit of controversy which characterized the last generation, although today that spirit has practically disappeared.

According to the 1940 Census, Protestants numbered some 60,000, including sects far removed from the schools of theology initiated by the Reformation. Such are the Russellites and the Seventh-Day Adventists, while there are also included many who profess no particular creed. In the Evangelical Churches, communicants number between ten and 15,000.

Almost immediately subsequent to the setting up of the military dictatorship, which adopted the designation of *Estado Novo* (New State), the Roman Catholic bishops held a National Council (of which the findings were canonically secret) the like of which had never taken place since the promulgation of the *Beneplacito* (agreement) in the fourteenth century, whereby such demonstrations of foreign sovereignty within the national borders were prohibited. This occurrence was thus an indication of Portugal's religious trend, a definite reaction against the truculent hostility to any and every display of religion which had been manifested almost throughout the sixteen years of parliamentary republican government.

I shall mention but briefly, also, that the political advocacy

of really and truly free elections in the Autumn of 1945 was not viewed favorably by the authorities. And if, nowadays, the *Peninsular Bloc*, a prop of the international policy of the Portuguese New State, is but seldom referred to, it is assuredly not because the treaty of mutual assistance concluded with the Spanish *Caudillo*, on which the said Bloc rests, has been denounced. The neutrality of the two Iberian countries, though dissimilar in various respects, became modified in the course of events, as happened also in other European countries. This was not to be wondered at.

Before the war, the tendency of Portuguese Evangelicals in general was to rely on support from abroad, and this attitude does not seem to have been greatly modified since. In one and all of its various ramifications, the Evangelical cause continues to be, to all intents and purposes, a foreign *mission*. The various branches have made their appearance in successive periods: first came Episcopalians, next Presbyterians in the South and Methodists in the North; then "Exclusive Brethren," followed by Congregationalists, of a peculiar type which had originated in Brazil (the *Igreja Fluminense*); next "Open Brethren"; later on, Baptists, and lastly, Pentecostals. Each denomination has seemed for a time to take the lead in point of expansive enthusiasm and numbers of adherents (regarding which it may be borne in mind that some have flourished by dint of winning converts from other denominations earlier in the field); but, ere long, each of these new groups has seemed almost to come to a standstill, or, at least, to conform to the general average as regards development.

The Pentecostals were the last to benefit by the involuntary backing of other denominations, this till they began to be affected by internal strife; and, as their converts are but human, and subject to the weaknesses inherent in all that we humans

produce, it is to be expected they will share the fate of their predecessors in the field.

A new departure, coinciding with the end of the war, is that North American aid has been promised to Baptists, Presbyterians, and Seventh-Day Adventists. The latter, who already had a seminary of some standing in a provincial town, proclaim that they will be building a costly church in Oporto, the second city in Portugal. A while ago, the Presbyterians sent delegates from America to collect information, and it is expected they will supply more workers and a seminary, whether or not to be run on co-operative lines the writer does not know. The Strict Baptists, who are in the majority, and nearly all, but not quite all of them, united (there are only two Free Baptist churches in Portugal), already had a small seminary of their own, where some young workers have received training. They have thus afforded the rest of the Evangelical community an example of vitality, a vitality which, generally speaking, is sadly lacking. If it does not come to the fore, its lack must be regarded as an indication of fatal decadence. Those of the Baptists who are united are now stating that they are to have the backing of an American committee, that churches will be built and pastors afforded reasonable incomes, whereas, like the rest, they have been enduring a period of disgraceful poverty. I need hardly, I fancy, explain in what sense I have used the adjective "disgraceful," since, surely, the Church of Christ is in duty bound to provide for those preaching the Word.

Contemplating Christian work in general, two unpleasant facts confront the impartial observer: the decrease in prestige of the leaders, and the weakening of the spirit of co-operation. All the older groups were headed by men of definite moral standing, whether foreign missionaries, to whom the work is greatly indebted, or Portuguese pastors who unstintingly de-

voted their lives to the proclamation of the Gospel, even to the extent of incurring serious risks. These, one by one, have quitted this life without leaving behind them successors of like standing—or able to exert the influence they exerted. As for the spirit of co-operation, which, though not to say strong, was the outcome of their influence and of the need engendered by difficult times (when a strong wind blows, all the wheat in the field is bent over in the same direction), it, too, has tended to die out.

The Y.M.C.A. used to be a truly Christian institution in the days of two much-missed secretaries, one of them in Lisbon, a Swiss, and the other in Coimbra, an American; but, since the First World War, it has become lukewarm, to say the least, the “C” bracketed or struck out, so to speak, because the departed leaders had no worthy successors. Only in Oporto has the Y.M.C.A. maintained a definitely Christian tone, though its membership is but few in numbers and weak.

The mother churches of the little missionary congregations in Portugal are for the Episcopalians, the Wesleyans, and some of the Brethren, in Great Britain; for the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Congregationalists, in Brazil; for the Seventh-Day Adventists, the Church of the Nazarene (which shares with Baptists the work in the Cape Verde Islands), others of the Brethren, and the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, in the U.S.A.; for the Action Biblique, in Switzerland, and for the Assemblies of God (Pentecostals), in Sweden. However, as already mentioned, Baptists and Presbyterians in the United States are reinforcing the aid coming from Brazil, or, possibly, even adopting the lead.

For years past, the Episcopalian and the Congregational pastors have been afforded salaries equivalent only to what is earned by an industrial apprentice, though it is incumbent on them to present a better appearance in society. Some of them

add to their incomes by giving private lessons, doing book-keeping, etc. This being so, and perhaps because evangelization appeals more strongly to them, or (who knows?) because reports of the opening up of new fields are calculated to make a stronger appeal to distant subscribers than does humble pastoral labor, their pastoral efforts are much weakened, though such work is indispensable for the building of a church. This want makes itself felt in the lack of discipline evident in the Church in general. There is need for more spiritual unity of the sort that leaps over the walls of partition, when it does not break them down; for more discipline and order, and for workers better prepared in this respect.

There has been only one outstanding ecumenical effort, some years ago in Madeira, when a number of Presbyterians and Episcopal Methodists united on a basis similar to that of the Spanish Evangelical Church. It failed, however, owing to the defection of its instigator. So, today, there is in the island a Presbyterian mission and, alongside of it, dissenting and unshepherded Methodists.

Some Presbyterians, if not all, are now advocating a confederation of the Reformed Churches, in substitution for the Evangelical Alliance, of which the basis is individual; but a large majority of the Church leaders favor strengthening already existing ties, rather than that there should be made an experiment which would certainly not be acceptable to several groups. Such an experiment might even not improve conditions in the groups included, since in these groups there are individuals who are of the opinion that any such important change should first begin in the main Churches in Protestant countries.

Lay leadership has been on the increase, largely due to the development of groups professing radical or simplified ecclesiology, as also owing to the need for the spread of the

Gospel; yet if, on the one hand, this is encouraging, on the other hand, there is in many a regrettable lack of due preparation, and this is liable to have dangerous consequences. The Lusitanian Church (Episcopal) holds firmly to its established selective principles, with clergy of a certain intellectual standing; but it is almost at a standstill, though ever so worthy to receive a fresh vitalizing impulse. The ministry in the Wesleyan, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches is also, as it were, marking time at present. The other groups are either lacking in ecclesiastical stability or have at their head foreign missionaries. There are, undoubtedly, devoted Christians among them; but they do not provide the requisite assurance of continuity, in a nation which has its own long-standing culture.

Individualistic evangelism has given proof of the extent of its worth. It has certainly opened up many centers; but most of them do not give promise of continuity or of development. Such nuclei are still but outposts, rather than living cells which will produce vital development among the masses, those "sheep without a shepherd" whom the Master so deeply pitied. The Christian message is, of course, selective; but also it is catholic: it seeks to appeal to the *individual*; and it was sent to *all the world*. If pastoral activity, which is devoted to the individual, following the example of the Lord, who sits refining and purifying the silver (Malachi 3, 3), is despised or set aside, what right will there be, invoking the selective care of the pastor, to belittle the catholic fervor of the evangelist, of the one who goes out into the highways and byways to "compel them to come in"?

Personally, while I have the most profound respect for the outstanding men I was privileged to know and love in the days of my youth, to whom were due devoted and laborious activities in Christian pioneering, I feel that, generally speaking, though involuntarily, they made their main appeal to the

extreme individualism of the Portuguese of the middle class, while failing to present the collective aspect of the Church. Granted that there were exceptions. I refer to what was the rule, which the exceptions go to prove. But our people want something beyond personal contacts and a message addressed to the individual, no matter how sanctified and appealing it may be. They need, so to speak, an atmosphere and continuity, to surround and carry on the message of salvation, the Word of the Cross. I would emphasize: an atmosphere and continuity.

Some years ago, the proprietor of premises in which had been installed a cinema, in the outskirts of Coimbra, the university city where one of my sons was then studying, offered me the premises for the preaching of the Gospel, in which he was interested.

I accepted his offer with right good will—and the preaching of the Gospel aroused so much interest that, in the course of many months, the improvised place of worship was crammed with eager listeners, who afterward, in tramcars and market-places, discussed what was rousing from their spiritual slumber the people of half-a-dozen nearby villages. In one of these villages, Fala, there came together a nucleus of interested persons, who gave evidence of having taken to heart the messages to which they had been listening. It was not merely that 1 + 1 + 1 were led to Christ, that they had taken the most decisive step which can be taken in life. There was more in it than this; there was the complement of the Gospel, which I would describe as the adding up of the sum, the building up of the Church. Which of my readers, Christians of various schools no doubt, will deem this of but little account?

I was approached one day by a committee of the men of Fala, dressed in their Sunday best and looking very solemn, thus indicating that they deemed it a great occasion. After

expressing the interest the Gospel had aroused in them all, one of them, in the name of the group, asked me if I and some other would undertake to afford them permanent assistance, having an appropriate building constructed, the cost of which they would be willing to help to defray, to the limit of their means. "Both you and we may either live or die," said the speaker, "and we are respectable men of our word, so, if we are to leave the Church of Rome, we want something *lasting*, so that our children may be educated and baptized, that we may be guided through life and our mortal remains accompanied to the grave, when we die."

I felt it to be a moment fraught with responsibility. How could I guarantee what those men desired? Unless God should distinctly help and guide, where in all the land was there to be found the human means for the continuity, for the atmosphere the Portuguese commonsense of these men demanded? I must own I refrained from promising what at the moment I could not be assured of being able to carry out. The lesson became engraved on my memory, on my heart, however; so today I can say to the Reformed Christian world: "Our people, the people of Gil Vicente and Camoens, are antisectarian, as were those widely appreciated geniuses of Portuguese birth; they are anti-sectarian indeed; but also incipiently antimonastic, anti-Romish and anti-Pharisaic. They have in them the germ of the Reformation, which is to say the desire, to revert to what was in the beginning. But an *atmosphere* and *continuity* are essential. They want permanent buildings for the worship of God, not just adapted garages, stores, or warehouses. They desire continuity, not just one man, ever liable to be called away by death, or a vague committee in some, to them, vague spot on the map. I do not venture to argue pro or con, I merely state this is how our people think and feel."

The circulation of the Scriptures is, of all branches of Chris-

tian work, that which has been most systematically carried on in this land. The British and Foreign Bible Society has been at work for 138 years, and its colporteurs have traveled the country from end to end, and also the adjacent islands (Madeira and the Azores), in fulfillment of the arduous mission which is theirs, facing up to the Romish priests, who often have burnt the Scriptures and incited mobs to attack the agents. The National Bible Society of Scotland has also for many years been taking part in this labor, and, latterly, the Scripture Gift Mission, too, has appeared in the field, their books being beautifully printed and illustrated.

Since the Religious Tract Society, of London, retired from Portugal, some nine years ago, after having done good work here in the course of a century, evangelical publicity has been limited to three denominational publications, a small, but tastefully presented, children's magazine, a magazine for the edification of believers, an interdenominational newspaper, appearing at irregular intervals, another paper, which aims at evangelization, a few semiprivate mimeographed sheets, and some Gospel tracts. For Christian workers, there is a lamentable lack of literature. A magazine compiled with the more cultured classes in view would in part meet the need. It would seem that, at the moment, our only contact with intellectual circles is through the collaboration I was asked twelve years ago to contribute to the *Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, in which, consequently, there have been appearing articles on Evangelical Christianity, biographies of Reformers, missionaries, and others who have distinguished themselves in the Church, etc. It amounts to little enough, yet, at least, it affords a means to correct the many and crass errors spread abroad by outsiders, while affording the studious among us the means of acquiring some knowledge of the subjects dealt with, if they will consult the volumes in public libraries.

The Seventh-Day Adventists, the Russellites, and the Pentecostals are not represented in the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance, of which I have been the Chairman for twenty-one years; some of them because they decline to be associated in the Alliance, others because they do not conform to the Liverpool Pact.

As to doctrine, the workers and the Churches are ostensibly antirationalist, rather just as a matter of principle than on the ground of reasoned argument, as the educational standard of the majority of believers is not high.

In the mentality of Portuguese Protestants, there is a rudimentary ecumenical consciousness, along with sectarian passion; just as in a child there coexist constructive and destructive instincts. A sectarian spirit is, in many instances, just the group or competitive instinct adapted to the subject-matter (not the spirit) of the Gospel. In some quarters, it is to the fore, yet it does not go to the length of suppressing the sound commonsense which draws us together, since we all pray to the same God, sing the same hymns and love the same wonderful story of the same Saviour. What does happen is that often there are two distinct modes of expression, one for fellow-Christians in general and another for those of the particular sect in question.

It is noteworthy that the Seventh-Day Adventists, having as yet no hymn-writers in their community, have compiled a very excellent hymnbook of their own; but the hymns are one and all by evangelical authors and pertain to other Churches—only, unlike the Baptists, the “Brethren,” the Pentecostals, and others, the Adventists have omitted to indicate the authors!

The war, in its most acute period, stimulated in us the desire to engage in united prayer, and there has been a movement among keen young people, resulting in the holding of special Gospel services, the organizing of camping parties (with distribution of tracts by the campers), scouting, Christian En-

deavor, the study of apologetics by students of the more advanced schools, etc.

There is rather half-hearted support for an interdenominational Portuguese mission in one of our African territories (the island of San Tome), and there is a Portuguese Baptist mission in Angola, which is backed by practically only believers of that persuasion. Then, too, there are a few Christian families who contribute regularly to foreign missions, or to the support of foreign missionaries.

There would not seem to be in the various Churches, as yet, any plans for coping with the altered state of things in the world. As of yore, the false unity of the Papacy is combated as much as possible—but it may be said that, in these days, this amounts to little enough. Very little is said of the One Invisible Church, there being even a certain school of theology which denies its existence! There is little being done toward promoting a sound and healthy drawing together. There was the experiment in Madeira, to which reference has already been made, which failed owing to its having been defective from the start. Almost all there are to be noted are the wholesome affirmations in the programs of the World's Evangelical Alliance for the Week of Prayer at the beginning of each year, considerable crowds attending these meetings both in Lisbon and in Oporto.

I will briefly mention a few outstanding men who have contributed to Christian work in the course of a century. There have been veritable saints, as, for instance, the Anglo-Portuguese, James Cassels, wholly devoted to the poor and ignorant of the people, whose memory is still loved and venerated by the entire population of Vila Nova de Gaia; martyrs, as the Portuguese Manuel Vieira, who was robbed of his life by cruel and unjust imprisonment; learned liturgists, as Canon Pope; evangelists greatly gifted in the preaching of the Word, as Henry

Maxwell Wright—both of these latter were Englishmen, though Mr. Wright was born in Portugal, and he won deep and widespread affection in the course of many years of devoted activity. Nowadays we have among us gifted musical composers, orators, and artists of good native stock. The Gospel is gradually winning converts among the descendants of the aristocrats who fought in the wars of independence in the fourteenth century, and also among villagers whose forebears were serfs for scores of generations; there are men converted in prison, industrialists, pressmen, sculptors, and soldiers, sailors, and airmen.

The veiled or indirect hostility of Roman Catholics has made itself felt in that we have been deprived of hired premises in which co-operative and charitable institutions functioned. However, an institution for rendering assistance to lepers is still at work; free medical advice is being afforded to the poor, irrespective of their religion, and there is an organization for the benefit of orphans of members of the Churches.

During the Spanish civil war, reactionary folk who hate us used to hold over us the threat that the end of that war would usher in a time of persecution here. But, in point of fact, there never has been anything in the way of organized persecution, nor even have there been instances of local persecution sufficiently numerous to suggest their having been stimulated by the Roman Catholic Church or by the authorities, save, perhaps, in a few isolated instances. Nevertheless, it would not seem that we are on the road to real religious liberty. As against it, it is suggested that the dictatorship desires to avoid anything provocative of Romish intolerance and thereby causing disturbances—which savors rather of a farce being acted by that Church! However, the present-day situation does not seem to forecast a worsening of conditions, nor do foreign politics suggest it. Thus we have cause for deep gratitude to God, since, while in Spain and in Russia—opposite poles!—the circulation

of the Scriptures is not permitted, in this strip of land, inhabited by a people who are the allies and friends of the Anglo-Saxons (and for the last thirty years the populace have given clear evidence of this) there is no impediment to this blessed activity. God be praised!

THE OLD CATHOLICS

Adolf K  ry

IN 1889, the Old Catholic Churches of Holland, Germany, and Switzerland formed a fellowship known as the "Utrecht Union." It is based on a "Declaration" containing the following principles:

We adhere to the original Church principles which Vincentius Lerinum stated in the sentence: "Id tenamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est; hoc est etenim vere proprieque catholicum."

We therefore adhere to the faith of the old Church as it is expressed in the symbols and in the generally recognized dogmatic decisions of the Ecumenical Synods of the undivided Church of the first century.

In the Paragraphs 2-5 of the Declaration, the specifically Roman Catholic decisions are declined in so far as they are in antithesis to the principle outlined above and the dogmatic decisions of the Council of Trent are accepted only in so far as they coincide with the teaching of the Old Church. In the sixth paragraph, the dogma concerning the Eucharist is laid down.

Mention may be made of what it says in the following paragraph: "We hope that the efforts of the theologians will be successful, within the proper adherence to the faith of the undivided Church, in reaching an understanding concerning the differences which have arisen since the Church schism.

We exhort the ministers under our administration to emphasize primarily, in sermon and instruction, the essential Christian truths to which the ecclesiastically separated Churches all mutually subscribe, to avoid every affront to truth and love and to set the members of our congregations an example of how to comport themselves toward those of other faiths according to the spirit of Jesus Christ who is the Redeemer of us all."

In addition to the three Churches mentioned, the Old Catholic Churches of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the national Churches of the Poles in the United States subscribe to this Declaration. Through the Church of Holland, our bishops participate in the apostolic succession of the Apostolic and Catholic Church. There are several fellowships which call themselves "Old Catholic" with so-called *episcopi vaganti*, but they do not belong to the Utrecht Union and the Old Catholics stand in no relationship with them.

The organ of the Utrecht Union is the Bishops Conference, with the Archbishop of Utrecht as the *primus inter pares* and the Swiss bishop in Bern as secretary. The theological schools are the Christian-Catholic Theological Faculty of the University of Bern, the Seminaries in Amersfoort, Bonn, Krakau, and Scranton. The official publication is the *International Church Periodical*, which is published in Bern.

Despite political differences during the war, the Utrecht Union has not suffered injury, although communications were at times hindered or entirely interrupted. On the other hand, the member Churches, with the exception of the Christian Catholic Church in Switzerland and the National Polish Church in the United States, have been severely stricken, in part, fatally.

The Dutch branch, especially, suffered severely through the destruction of churches, manses, and institutions, through the evacuation of several parishes, deportation of men members

to Germany, and all the oppressions of the Occupation which the rest of the population shared. But it is particularly in Holland that the ecumenical idea proved itself in these difficult days. It closed the ranks of the Protestant, the Old Catholic, and the Roman Catholic Churches into a working fellowship which became a center of the resistance movement against the occupation authorities. Repeatedly, the Churches presented manifestoes to the government. The first was in January, 1942, when they addressed one to the General Secretary of the Ministry of Justice, in order to call attention to the abrogation of civil rights, the arrests and detentions for long periods, to which everyone was subject; to the treatment of the Jews; to the attempt to impose the National Socialist philosophy on the population. Protests, in which the Old Catholic Church was always associated, were addressed to the Reich Commissioner against the deportation of the Jews, against forced labor, sterilization. Still more closely were the Churches drawn together in common action as famine visited the country during the last year of the war, and "hunger processions" wandered through the countryside. A joint relief action by the Churches proved a blessing to our people through the provision of meals to children and adults in many localities.

The Old Catholic Church took care of its members to the best of its ability. All the clergy proved their dedication and loyalty without exception, even in the May days of 1940. Church members were urged not to take on voluntary labor in the enemy country; our welfare institutions supported the families of the men who refused service at the front. In 1941, when the enemy tried to take possession of Church properties and collections, the bishops forbade compliance with the order.

Regularly, the bishops sent out pastoral letters. When they rescribed the prayers for peace and for the queen in 1942, several clergymen were arrested by the Nazi police, but the

Germans ventured upon no harsher measures. Every pastoral letter contains the exhortation to remain loyal to the Gospel and to remain steadfast. In the last Letter of the year 1943, the duty of the Church to rise up against the ideologies of the occupying powers is set forth. "We have become poor, down to the last bit of bread and the last garment, but now that we have nothing, our hearts have become warm and kindness has been awakened, we can still enrich others and thus give the best proof that we have everything. Lift up your heads for salvation is near."

The fact that after liberation help for our unhappy country came at once from abroad is well known. All our sister Churches—in Switzerland, England, the United States—took steps for our aid. The congregation *Den Helder* received, through the World Council's Department of Reconstruction and Interchurch Aid in Geneva, a wooden church which was dedicated on July 23rd by the Archbishop of Utrecht. The Church immediately inaugurated a program of self-help. A Relief Committee, with Bishop Lagerwey as its head, is taking up the task of material reconstruction; for spiritual reconstruction the bishops and pastors are hard at work. Religious discipline in general has got out of hand, family life is dangerously undermined, and the young people have run wild. In the Pastoral Letter at Epiphany, the bishops point to the presents which should be brought to Christ out of their treasures of Christian virtues. They are supporting social welfare laws and encourage employees (women as well as men) in their congregations to organize themselves into societies for mutual benefit and to foster religious and Church life.

In the Pastoral Letter at the beginning of Lent the topic is prayer and fasting—fasting in order to do good—and a collection is recommended for the needs of the Church which is to be continued until those needs are met. On the anniversary of the liberation, a Pastoral Letter reminds us of the terrible suffering

which was the price of liberation, the bitter pain remaining, and the deterioration of human behavior as the result, so that one may well speak of "the acts of darkness."

The Church leads the world out of the superficial thoughts of every-day life, out of the emotional sphere of hate, out of the world of materialism and self-interest, to see things in a better light and on the plan of a higher obligation. This can only be done if all turn to the "Pastor (Shepherd) and Bishop of our souls."

Church organizations have been revived: men's clubs, women's and young people's societies, all are helping vigorously in the spiritual rebuilding of the Church. The ecumenically associated Churches are continuing to treat common tasks in a joint committee. This committee is acting in an advisory capacity to the government; it has expressed itself concerning the death penalty, the treatment of the local collaborationists, their reintegration into society, into economic processes, etc., and concerning the moral rehabilitation of youth, and other inter-Church problems.

The situation of the Old Catholic Church in Germany is very serious. Its centers lay for the most part in the big cities which were subjected to the greatest amount of damage, in the Rhineland, the Ruhr, in Silesia, and Munich. A high percentage of ministers was called to the front; many of them were taken prisoner and remained away for years so that many parishes were deserted. Nearly all the churches in the areas named are in ruins, only a few could be repaired. The congregations themselves were scattered by the bombings. With the buildings, there disappeared very often everything they contained in the way of records, manuscripts, and equipment for the cult. Stocks of Church literature were destroyed in the fires. In spite of all these difficulties, brave men are going ahead with the reconstruction of Church life. A Church relief center, with

headquarters in Bonn, which ministers to all the congregations, is tackling the material distress and accepts with thanks the relief coming from friendly Churches, which of course can be merely modest tokens of brotherly sympathy.

Little by little, the pastoral vacancies are supplied. The seminary in Bonn, temporarily closed, is to reopen soon, congregations are coming back, Church life is being reestablished, church attendance is on the whole very good, the women's societies are active again, and the youth organizations, which had been disbanded, are awakening to new life. Frontier difficulties between the various zones as yet make the meeting of the Synod impossible, communication with outlying parishes is difficult, and an official Church paper can not be published because of lack of paper. The Episcopal chancellery must issue its documents in typewriting and the clergy can meet only in local areas. It has become possible to issue two monthly papers: in Frankfort, *Der Willibordbote*, and in Singen (South Baden) the *Old Catholic Church Messenger*.

Church life has become so active that new worship service stations have been opened and many parishes report numerous new members. We are planning the publication of a new prayer and song book, a worship ritual, an altar book, and other necessary religious books and documents. Lost forever are the congregations in Eastern Germany, above all in Silesia. The German-speaking population is being evacuated and is going westward. We are trying to gather the members of the Old Catholic parishes and, if possible, to adjoin them to the existing congregations. Collection centers have been set up and a burning question which must be solved is the pastoral care of these homeless people.

The Old Catholic Church in Austria belongs to the See of Vienna. Its bishop, Dr. R. Tuechler, had to resign during the war because of ill health. As an Episcopal election was out of

the question, an administrator was appointed to take care of the See. The Church has been hard hit by the events of the war and is suffering from the material distress. It, too, faces a complete task of reconstruction. Under the foreign régime, Church life was paralyzed, religious instruction rendered difficult, the clubs dissolved, property confiscated, meetings forbidden, welfare work stopped, the press blotted out. Everything, everywhere, will have to be begun over under the most difficult circumstances.

Hardest hit was the Church in Czechoslovakia. Up to the end of the First World War, the Old Catholic parishes of Bohemia were united with the Austrian ones in one bishopric. After the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, those parishes received their own bishopric with its seat in Warnsdorf. The decision to evacuate the German population has endangered the existence of the Church. Most of its adherents speak German, the Czechs are a small minority. The German-speaking Synodical Council was dissolved and replaced by a Czech; German preaching was forbidden, the people are being gradually evacuated, and the pastors must leave the country. The bishop, being Czech-born, was originally recognized, but he has since died and a Czech pastor from the parish in Prague was chosen administrator. He is now trying, with a few Czech pastors, to gather the Old Catholic Czechs into little parishes which would like to inherit the whole residue of the once-flourishing German-speaking parishes, the spiritual and material heritage of churches, manses, institutions, and Church properties. Whether or not this will succeed and the government will consent, remains to be seen.

The fate of the Old Catholic Church under the Croats in Yugoslavia is unknown and the news from the National Church in Poland is very sparse. Its bishop was interned as an American after the invasion of Poland. In March, 1946, he

was permitted to return to his diocese of Krakau. To date, we have learned only that the Church (like the other Churches) has been officially recognized by the authorities; it must therefore have shown itself viable through the war period. There is mention also of an Old Catholic Church of Poland. It was led by a bishop and twenty pastors and does not belong to the Utrecht Union.

After the war, relations between the Old Catholic Churches were immediately resumed. None of the Churches had been officially identified with the fallen régime, and it is now being vigorously repudiated. The German bishop wrote as of Easter, 1946: "As Christians we must all have an unequivocally upright and sincerely humble character; we must respect God's judgments and submit to His guiding hand. Then we may recognize in the German collapse above and before all the judgment of God over our people, over its sin and delusion. Here all the argumentation and recrimination and apologizing must cease. Here in this depth and seclusion in which our heart speaks: 'Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight' (Ps. 51-4). In spite of all temptations—a few who constituted rare exceptions were dismissed—our Church remained steadfast and undeterred in its loyalty to its Catholic heritage of doctrine, constitution, and worship. It remained unchanged in these three fundamentals of its Church existence as it was before and after 1918 and before and after 1933, and we thank God for the preservation, the backing which He granted to our modest service. And so we stand today unchanged in the midst of the material and spiritual anguish resting on us all, ready to work for its spiritual recovery, founded on the Word of God in Christ, the cornerstone and basis of the Church, and deeply bound to Him in the celebration of the holy mysteries of one great act of redemption. We will conceive our mission in the sense of St. Paul's words: 'For we are labourers together

with God: ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building'" (1 Cor. 3:9).

Especially effective during the war and since then proved to be the ecumenical relations of the Old Catholic Churches to the Church of England. Intercommunion, which was perfected in 1931, proved its worth, particularly in those days of distress. The Bishop of Switzerland, at the request of the Bishop of Fulham, during the war confirmed young Anglicans in the Anglican churches of Bern, Zuerich, Geneva, and Montreux.¹ Old Catholic clergymen took under their pastoral care Anglican prisoners of war in the German camps and vice versa the Anglican Church looked after our prisoners of war in Britain. Old Catholic Churches in Holland were put at the disposal of the British troops.² Members of both Churches arranged common worship services with mutual communion. The same thing is happening in Germany.³ To name just one example: very impressive was a worship service in the great church in Mannheim six months after the armistice. Two priests of the Episcopal Church in the United States, four Russian-Orthodox, and two German Old Catholic priests stood at the altar in the spirit of reconciliation and the love of Jesus Christ, prayed in various languages but in the same spirit. Americans and Germans knelt together at the same altar in order to receive the Body and the Blood of the Lord in the sacrament.

The St. Willibord Society has also resumed its work. This Society was founded in 1908 in order to cultivate friendly relations between the Old Catholic and Anglican Churches and pave the way for the establishment of full intercommunion between them. This chief objective has been attained. Nevertheless, the Society still has a great mission. At the meeting of the

¹ *The Church Times*, July 3, 1943.

² *The Guardian*, June 6, 1945. *The Church Times*, June 29, 1945, Nov. 30, 1945, Jan. 4, 1946.

³ *Old Catholic Parish Messenger*, Singen, No. 7, September, 1946.

English group, July 24th, 1945, it was shown how important the relations between the two Churches were. In order to develop them, a periodical, *The St. Willibrord Chronicle*, was called into being. The groups in Germany, in Austria, and in Switzerland have begun their activity with their own secretariats and are manifesting great zeal in the spirit of Christian ecumenicity.

The principles recognized by both Churches regarding intercommunion were laid down in January, 1931 as follows:

1. Each Communion recognizes the catholicity and independence of the other and maintains its own.
2. Each Communion agrees to admit members of the other Communion to participate in the sacraments.
3. Intercommunion does not require from either Communion the acceptance of all doctrinal opinion, sacramental devotion, or liturgical practice characteristic of the other, but implies that each believes the other to hold all the essentials of the Christian faith.

II

HUNGARY

Bela Vasady

HUNGARY lives today within the frontier lines prescribed by the Versailles Treaties and reconfirmed by the Paris Peace Treaty signed on the tenth of February, 1947. In 1938 Hungary had about nine million inhabitants. Six million (or sixty-five per cent) belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, about two million (twenty per cent) to the Reformed Church holding the Presbyterian System, half a million (six per cent) to the Lutheran Church, 40,000 (four-tenths per cent) to the Greek Orthodox Church, 15,000 (two-tenths per cent) to the Baptist Church, 5,000 (thirty-three one-hundredths per cent) to the Methodist Church. There were then about half a million Jews. The rest of the inhabitants were scattered among the Unitarians and some other smaller Church bodies. This data indicates that Hungary is a predominantly Roman Catholic country and that there are two large Protestant bodies: the Reformed and the Lutheran. Both of them come down from the Reformation period. The Reformed Church is divided into four districts, thirty-four presbyteries and about 1,072 congregations. The Lutheran Church numbers 305 mother churches and about 340 mission parishes. Hungarian Protestantism, however, is an important spiritual factor even beyond the frontier lines reaffirmed by the Paris Peace Treaty. In Czechoslovakia and in Carpatho Ukraine, there are ten Presbyteries of the Hungarian Reformed Church with 290 congregations and 200,000 adherents. In Transyl-

vania, which was ceded to Romania, there are twenty-six Presbyteries of the Hungarian Reformed Church with 790 mother churches and 102 mission churches, numbering altogether 900,000 Church members. Finally, in Yugoslavia, there are four Presbyteries of the Hungarian Reformed Church, with fifty-three congregations and 55,000 Church members. (In parenthesis, let us mention that in the United States there are about 200,000 inhabitants belonging to the Hungarian Protestant Communities, and about 50,000 other Hungarian Protestants are scattered in other countries of the world.)

In 1938, before the outbreak of the Second World War in Debrecen, Hungary, all the Magyars belonging to the Reformed or Presbyterian Churches in the various countries of the world held their first World Assembly, and about 10,000 representatives reaffirmed their allegiance to the faith of their fathers. The Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System registers the Reformed Church of Hungary as the largest Presbyterian Church body on the European Continent, and if all the Magyar Reformed Church members, now again divided by the frontier lines between Hungary and her neighboring States (Czechoslovakia, Carpatho Ukraine, Romania, Yugoslavia), could belong together to the same ecclesiastical body, the Magyar Reformed Church would be perhaps one of the largest Presbyterian Churches in the entire world.

Hungary itself was a battlefield from September, 1944, until May, 1945. This brought tremendous trial upon the Hungarian Churches. While the country was a battlefield, nearly three-score of Protestant church buildings and over one hundred other Church properties were completely ruined, 800 church buildings and 2,273 other Church properties were badly damaged. Most of these buildings were ruined or blown up by the Nazis on the verge of their evacuation, but many of them suf-

fered from British-American or from Russian air-raids as well. The equipments of many of the Church Schools, of the large Protestant colleges, of the deaconess homes, and of other Protestant Charity Organizations, which served as field hospitals during the war, were expropriated and carried away by the armies. Thus, today, many of the large colleges and parochial schools in Hungary are still unable to fulfill their genuine vocation as they did before the war, because they are without the necessary equipment.

The war left Hungary prostrate and destitute. The lack of raw material, the expropriation of the equipment of industrial plants, the almost total collapse of traffic and of distribution affected the population sadly. But the greatest collapse was the monetary one. Inflation spiraled so dizzily that street-car fare in Budapest, which had been twenty Pengoes in October, 1945, (already one hundred times more than in peacetime), by February, 1946, had risen to 20,000 Pengoes. (To put it in American terms: Instead of paying five cents for street-car fare, one is supposed to pay \$5,000.) Salaries and wages had to be rated proportionately. The income, however, did not grow in the same proportion. Under such circumstances, the Churches and Church organizations were unable to keep up reliable budgets, or to pay the salaries of their ministers, teachers, and Church officials, and to count on the regular taxes or spontaneous offerings of their members. And when it came to exchange rate, the monthly salary of a Hungarian Protestant minister or theological professor did not even exceed \$1.00 to \$1.50 in American currency.

The result of all this was that pastors, professors, and salaried people had to resort to the primitive process of barter.

In August, 1946, a new currency was introduced in Hungary—the "Forint." And, since that time, the people have been facing the antithesis to inflation, namely, deflation. As Dr.

Stewart Herman reported at the end of 1946 after his four weeks' visit to Hungary, "Whereas there were quintillions of Pengoes, there are now very few Forints." Wages and salaries run between one hundred to 300 Forints per month, and rents plus utilities frequently consume more than half of the income. A suit of clothes costs 500 Forints, a quarter pound of butter 2.50 Forints. Moreover, everyone has been impoverished by the war losses or confiscations or inflation and there is no reserve to fall back on.

No wonder that under such circumstances the Reformed Church of Hungary, for example, has applied to the Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid Department of the World Council of Churches, first of all for money to raise her pastors' salaries, for which approximately \$25,000 is required to balance payments for the year 1946 and an additional \$82,000 for 1947, to aid schoolteachers (1,808,000 Forints for 1947 and 125,800 for 1946), and to aid refugee pastors (eighty-four of whom came from Czechoslovakia with no luggage).

Another event that hit the Churches of Hungary, immediately after the war was over, was the so-called *radical land reform*. This land reform was long overdue, and the socially minded Protestants have always fostered a substantial land reform in Hungary, but under the chaotic post-war circumstances, the land reform has been carried out in an "unnecessarily ruthless and extreme" way. The land reform expropriated all estates without exception exceeding one hundred acres. Thus, for example, in the Reformed Church of Hungary, 172 congregations lost a total of twenty-seven thousand acres, which impoverished them. The various Church districts and ancient colleges of Budapest, Debrecen, Papa, Sarospatar (including the theological seminaries) lost ninety-five per cent of their holdings, so that less than 800 acres of land have been left for all of them. Thus these ancient educational institutions, not

only the Reformed but also the ancient Lutheran Institutes, whose endowments were mostly in land estates and whose yearly agrarian income served the highest spiritual and educational welfare of the people themselves, were so severely hit by the agrarian revolution that they are today not able to continue the support of their students. Dr. Herman characterizes very well, in two short sentences, the resulting situation: "Confessional schools were largely subsidized by generous land endowments. Thus in losing the land, the church runs the risk of losing the schools."

The State could not avoid realizing the fact that the Churches, and parochial (or confessional) educational institutes duly deserve indemnities for their confiscated agrarian endowments. Thus the State is trying to make good a part of the losses by paying the salaries of the bishops, by contributing substantially to the salaries of the clergy and of parochial (confessional) school teachers, and by trying to support a certain number of students studying in the Protestant educational institutions. But this situation—from the highest spiritual point of view—can again not be regarded as healthy. The moral pledge of the State to pay indemnities for the confiscated estates of the Protestant colleges and parochial schools by and by might be forgotten, and, at the same time, the Churches and their educational institutions might become entirely dependent upon the State.

To meet this situation in the proper way is the more important as the so-called professional school system in Hungary is quite unusual. Over sixty per cent of the elementary schools and forty per cent of the secondary (or middle) schools are in the hands of the Church. And the Christian influence through these schools has always been very strong. As Dr. Herman reports, the registration in these confessional schools today is heavier than ever before; Hungarian parents are insisting upon

the continuance of these schools; in many half-destroyed communities, the confessional school is being repaired along with the church building by the self-sacrificing support of the congregations, which feel a new sense of responsibility for public education; and the teachers of such schools attach special significance to the Christian character of their work, regardless of what subject they teach. Under such circumstances, Dr. Herman is very right when he draws his final conclusion: "It is my personal opinion that the Hungarian confessional schools should be given (obviously through the World Council of Churches) every possible assistance during the immediate post-war period because of the unique position which they occupy in the ecclesiastical and educational structure of the country." In other words, this assistance will enable them to survive during the chaotic situation of the post-war era and also enable them to become more and more independent of the (more-or-less) secular influences of the State.

Church relief and reconstruction work is being done in post-war Hungary, especially through the world-wide channels of the Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid department of the World Council of Churches, which has again and again been referred to. Something more definite must, however, be said about this. By God's providence, during the war, in 1943, before the Nazis invaded Hungary, on the occasion of the visit of Dr. Nils Ehrenström, Director of the Study Department of the World Council of Churches to Hungary, the Hungarian Protestant Churches were able to organize the Ecumenical Committee of the Churches in Hungary, and in 1945 this committee, in which today the Orthodox Church of Hungary is also represented, was able to establish its Reconstruction Department. Especially since the Autumn of 1946, large shipments of clothes, shoes, food supplies have been distributed through this Department, members of the Reformed Church receiving

seventy-three per cent of all supplies, the Lutheran Church twenty-one per cent, the Baptists three, the Methodists one, and so on. There is a fine co-operation on relief lines between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, and when Dr. Herman visited Hungary, he discovered that people in Hungary were eating not only for breakfast, but also for luncheon, "Protestant cereal" with "Roman Catholic cocoa" (the cereal being sent through the American Protestant, the cocoa through the American Roman Catholic Welfare, organizations).

After physical survival there must come a spiritual revival. People thankful to God for their physical survival during and after the war, must have a greater sensitiveness for spiritual awakening. In Hungary, one can notice the emerging signs of this awakening. The evangelization work done, not only by the so-called "Friends of Evangelization" but also by the official Churches, is more and more succeeding in bringing about a religious awakening of the Hungarian nation. Then, again, there is a new eagerness to rethink theology in more practical and social terms, and to realize the importance of the ecumenical spirit and of Church co-operation. The youth organizations of the Churches are finding again their ways to start everything anew. Especially the work of the Reformed Church Women's Federation is carrying out a program which, according to Dr. Herman, "seems likely to revive the entire church."

The Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid Department of the World Council of Churches, especially through the support of the women of the Presbyterian and Lutheran Churches in America, is highly advancing this restorative and reconstruction enterprise of the best Protestant women in Hungary. Thus the philosophy of despair will be more and more replaced with a socially minded reconstructive theology of hope. Where there is a new obedience "to the Lord" there is also a "new will" to rebuild. And as this "new will" is strengthened by the support

of the "Ecumenical Church," the "new way" to restore and rebuild everything can also be found. The Protestant Churches of Hungary have already taken the first important steps on the way toward reconstruction and rehabilitation.

In 1945, after the Nazis evacuated Hungary, the country fell entirely under Russian occupation. There was in the country one political party which was regarded as a Christian national and, at the same time, a liberal and democratic party. This was the so-called Independent Small Land Holders Party. The chairman was a Hungarian Reformed (Presbyterian) pastor, the Rev. Zoltan Tildy, who was elected president of the Hungarian Republic, since his party polled, at a free election in November, 1945, fifty-nine per cent of the votes, thus receiving not only the votes of the Protestants but also the majority of the votes of the Roman Catholic population. The Rev. Mr. Tildy, who has Roman Catholic priests on his staff, and the prime minister, Francis Nagy (also a leading layman in the Reformed Church of Hungary) organized a coalition government in which all the other parties—the Communists, the Social Democrats, the National Peasant Party—are also represented. No doubt, sharply conflicting ideologies are at work within such a government and, as Dr. Herman has noted, "the significant thing is that the present Hungarian government is a strange combination of Communism and Calvinism" but it must never be forgotten that it was partly the result of this "strange combination" that—to quote Dr. Herman again—"the church in Hungary has as yet not lost any of the fundamental liberties."

And—as has already been noted—first of all on restoration and relief lines a fine co-operation is going on between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and it is most important for the future of Hungary as well as both of these main types of Hungarian Christendom that this co-operation should prove to remain a lasting one not allowing any political extremities to

regain the upper hand in the country. *It is the conviction of the writer of this article, and he believes that it is the conviction of most of the Roman Catholics and of the Protestants in Hungary, that neither a secular nor an ecclesiastical totalitarian system, but only a well-balanced democratic form of government which respects and represents the main four principles of freedom, can lead the Hungarian nation toward regaining her place in the families of this world as a prospective member of the United Nations Organization.*

Hungarian Protestantism, however, besides having the mission of cultivating the spirit of Christian co-operation with the Roman Catholics of the country, has also another, very important, mission to fulfill. And the Protestants of Hungary recognize more and more this other side of their mission. They always regarded themselves as the easternmost bulwark of Western Protestantism in Central Europe, but today they *are more ready to picture their mission as being that of a bridge linking the East to the West and the West to the East.* As the spirit of ecumenical Christianity is becoming more and more a dominating factor in the lives of Hungarian Protestants, they are ready to render a good service to ecumenical Christendom by fostering the closest possible co-operation with the Greek orthodox Churches of Russia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. They are planning to establish an Ecumenical Research Institute and training center in Debrecen, which is the strongest Protestant city in South Eastern Europe, and, besides emphasizing the importance of the training of devout lay workers for the Protestant Churches in Hungary, one of the most important aims of this South East European Ecumenical Institute would be to offer a meeting-place and a united training possibility for Protestants of the West and Orthodox Christians of the East.

The best Protestants of Hungary not only believe in our

common duty of realizing the *one world idea*, but also are ready to work for it. And they know that this work must be done first of all on *ecumenical lines*. There can not be one world without there being *one Church*. And as Hungary is on the verge of the East and of the West, and as she is representing a territory where the three main types of Christendom—Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestantism—actually meet, all of us must hope that in the new, emerging world situation, Hungarian Protestantism, as the easternmost outpost of Western Protestantism, will certainly have a providential role to play.

I

THE BRITISH ISLES

Cecil Northcott

I WELL remember, in the first few days of the war, when, in a rather bewildered frame of mind, Church leaders met in London, hearing an Anglican bishop say to a minister of State, "The war is a temporary happening—the Church of God is permanent." It was guidance of that kind which led Christian people in Britain through the war period, and helped them to endure the destruction of some thousands of church buildings by bombing, and, in many cases, to see the work of years decimated overnight. We realized, in Britain during that period, that the Church was the community of people, the "colony of heaven," which the New Testament believed it to be, and that the disappearance of material life only served to display the abiding worth of its interior life. We had a rebirth of our sense of the Church and its place in the world.

This experience has contributed to the growing belief in the Ecumenical Movement of Christianity. Britain's insularity is not easily overcome, but the war has opened our doors wide to the world and the eagerness with which Christian people in Britain are listening to news of the Churches throughout the world is evidence of the new ecumenical temper. We must be careful, however, not to over-estimate the knowledge, or even the desire for knowledge, about the Ecumenical Movement among the rank and file of the Churches. But ministers, speakers, and Church officials find a ready hearing in the churches

for news and plans of the World Church. Many factors have helped toward this.

First stands the fact of the British Council of Churches, which came into existence in 1942 as the co-operative and consultative organization of the non-Roman Churches. Its first piece of practical work lay in the organization of "Religion and Life Weeks," which were significant contributions to our religious life and thought in a large number of cities and towns. These co-operative weeks of Christian witness to the power of the Gospel in community, national, and international life gave local churches a common platform, brought them together in a common task, and have resulted in 150 local councils' being formed.

In a survey of the work of these councils, the Rev. George Grieve of the British Council staff says:

"Most Councils determine priorities by the formula that they should do those things together which cannot be done in separation. New links were forged in Religion and Life Weeks between the Churches and the Local Authorities, ensuring more frequent consultation between the Churches and the Schools. This process has been strengthened where Home and Family Weeks, and more especially Home and Family Exhibitions, have been held. The latter type of project brought all the agencies concerned in the recovery of Christian family life into fruitful partnership so that Christian principles and the Christian message were proclaimed within the context of housing, health, education and neighborly caring.

"Local co-operation has also found many outlets in relation to the normal activities of the Church. United visitation of children of Sunday School age and of adults has been undertaken. Training courses for teachers, youth leaders, and of speakers at Women's Meetings have been conducted. Despite war and black-out, all manner of ingenious experiments were

undertaken by some Councils. Bolton chartered a theatre each autumn and winter for a special feature program, one Sunday a month, and within the setting of cheerful music staged parsons, youth, servicemen in the witness-box, conveyed the Christian message through 'Brains' Trusts,' open debates, and the like.

"A small outer London Council managed and staffed a Youth Centre, sent 888 Bulletins a month to service men and women (of whom they reckoned only the eighty-eight were church-goers), compiled lists of holiday apartments (children welcome) for returning servicemen needing family holidays, and supplemented advice available from resettlement offices.

"Courses of lectures and discussion have been arranged by Local Councils on Faith and Order, International and Missionary topics, accompanied in the last case with some highly successful United Missionary Exhibitions.

"It has been discovered that when the right approach is made there are many allies in the community who share the 'Churches' concern for spiritual foundations for community and personal life, and that doors likely to be barred to a denominational approach are thrown open if the Churches are disinterestedly acting together."

This "Religion and Life" movement (which will need reviving again in post-war Britain) was a bold piece of interpretation of the ecumenical faith. It spoke to the relevance of the Christian religion in all aspects of the world's life, and it related this faith to local situations. It also provided—through the formation of local councils—for a continuation of the witness and education which was started so that "mere talk" about a World Church was translated into genuine local fellowship between otherwise separated groups of Christian people.

Alongside this movement, the regular educational processes of Church organizations have gone on. The missionary move-

ment has for a hundred and fifty years been the main instrument in Britain in the education of Christian people in world affairs. Its support during the war revealed the remarkable hold which the cause of foreign missions still has in British Church life. The challenge to it now is to win a new generation both for personal service and support. The rate of financial giving is still encouragingly high, but will the two thousand odd posts vacant abroad be filled by high-quality young people from the churches?

Another factor in our British Church life, which is important, is our realization and understanding of the European continent and the United States of America. European nations—especially Scandinavia and France—are closer to us in experience and Christian understanding than they were in 1939. This is also true of the United States—the links which bind us are stronger than ever through our war experience and the presence in this country of American troops. It will be important to keep up the interchange of visits across the Atlantic, which do so much to stimulate friendships and common interests. We shall also need more of such visits among the rank and file of the Churches on both sides of the Atlantic and on the European continent.

Has all this increased co-operation, understanding, and knowledge led to any moves toward union? In 1946, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in two separate speeches, threw out suggestions to the English Free Churches that an effort should be made to reconstitute "The Church of England"—or, in Dr. Fisher's words, "When we come together we become again the Church of England." There has been little or no response to this preliminary overture on the part of the Free Churches, and the main reason is that the passion for union is lacking. There is no big impetus pushing the separated Churches together powerful enough to overcome the tiredness and inertia which

afflict us. This may seem to be a contradiction of much already written, but it has to be reckoned with. After the Lambeth Conference of 1920, with its great appeal to "all Christian people," there was an alert eagerness about union which we do not possess at the moment. Alongside the Ecumenical Movement, there has undoubtedly been a hardening of denominational positions, and the rediscovery of their particular accent in Churchmanship on the part of many younger ministers. For instance, the high claims of Calvinist Churchmanship have had a renaissance in Britain with a consequent better understanding of the Reformed tradition. Among certain groups of the Anglican Church, there has markedly been a stiffening of position, too, and a certain wariness whenever union is mentioned, born, no doubt, out of the renewed debates about the South India Union Scheme. All this has been accompanied in the theological field by the revived interest in Biblical theology which, in the writer's opinion, has rehardened old positions rather than revealed new bases for agreement. Union movements cannot be manufactured. They must arise out of a concern born of years of frustration and hope, and must be ready to face many defeats and periods of indifference and cynicism. We are in one of those periods now in England as it affects the relationships of the Anglican and Free Churches—waiting for the new momentum and, perhaps, the new prophet, to arise.

One union movement, however, has again approached the stage of official discussions. For the second time in fifteen years, the Presbyterians in England, who number about 60,000, and the Congregationalists, who number 350,000, have begun discussions about possible union. Linked by ties of history, tradition, and faith, ministering mainly to the same social groups, these two bodies might more easily unite than any other two of the Free Churches. A union here would provide, in some

judgments, an ideal combination of order and discipline with freedom and liberty.

What of leadership in British Church life? Our losses have been heavy. The sudden deaths of Archbishop Temple, William Paton, and William Elmslie during the war period, and the recent death in old age of D. S. Cairns, are signs that a new generation of leaders must appear. The Ecumenical Movement is peculiarly dependent on personalities for the interpretation of its life to the Churches. Men come to stand for great causes and are associated with them in the mind of the public, and round the late Archbishop Temple there had grown up a group of leaders of various churches who held him in the highest confidence and respected his leadership.

Our weakness in lay leadership is a grievous liability in all forms of Christian action, and the staffing of posts—voluntary and official—in all sections of the Church is a constant problem. One movement, the Christian Frontier Council, sponsored by Dr. J. H. Oldham, is seeking to draw out lay Christian leadership in the professions and business world not normally discoverable by the customary Church methods. It is doing this by discussions and debates among groups of laymen on topics which affect Christian action in the common life, and by organizing units of laymen and women within the professions and the business, trade-union, and industrial world. Each denomination is aware, too, of its weakness in leadership among men, and it must be admitted that any expected signs of a large return to the Churches on the part of men from the armed forces have not been fulfilled. But, on the whole, it would be true to say that those men who were in the Church's ranks before the "call-up" have returned and will take a helpful share in Britain's religious life. The number of men from the forces wishing to be ordained is also encouraging—the Anglican Church alone has a register of over four thousand.

The war revealed the need for a more zealous attention to the teaching ministry of the Church, particularly to young people; and this made the new English Education Bill, which provides for religious teaching in all State schools, under "agreed syllabuses,"¹ welcomed by all the religious denominations. The sight of a united deputation of Anglicans and Free Churchmen going to see the Education Minister about the Bill's provisions was a sign of the times in a particularly controversial field. By the Bill, the Anglican Church will probably lose half of its twelve thousand-odd primary day schools, mainly in country areas, whose modernization is beyond the resources of the Church. They will become State schools, but there will be provisions for religious education in them; a basic minimum, however, and hardly enough to satisfy those who hold that Bible teaching without a view of the Church and a modicum of Christian doctrine does not convey an adequate view of the Christian religion to the growing child.

In the world of Christian literature, there is a great public for the live and readable book about the Christian religion. The reception given to Dorothy Sayers' radio play, *The Man Born to be King*—a presentation of the Passion of our Lord in modern speech—was evidence of the place in the life of the people which the central theme of Christianity occupies. The national response to special Days of Prayer at critical war moments was another sign of the innate "religiousness" of our people. All these are hopeful signs in a country which has been described as "interested in religion but not concerned about Christian worship." That observation is a shrewd comment on the poor attendances (there are many exceptions, of course) at the average church, and yet the wistful longing which marks the search of many people in our land for guidance in personal and community conduct. The frequent loud

¹ Lesson outlines and texts approved by the Churches. Editor.

cry to the churches to "give a lead" is accompanied by a seemingly determined neglect of organized Christianity and much secular cynicism about its ways and prospects. While there is much loyalty, devotion, and generosity of every kind within the British Churches, it would be misleading to suggest that the immediate prospects for the Churches are bright. The most intensive and comprehensive survey of our religious condition was made by the Anglican Commission under the Bishop of Rochester which made their report in *The Conversion of England* (1945).² The Commission said "There can be no doubt that there is a wide and deep gulf between the Church and the people. How far the rift has gone, or how deeply it has as yet affected national character, cannot be measured with statistical accuracy. Conditions vary surprisingly from area to area, and reports from personal observations differ widely according to the locality, or the section of the community, from which observers draw their conclusions. The war, however, with its general mix-up of the population, has afforded an unequalled opportunity of gaining some general appreciation of the situation. Thus, evacuation has opened the eyes of one half of the inhabitants of this island to see how the other half lives, with the result of eyes being opened very wide indeed. Then again, men and women congregated together for war service present a cross-section of British society between the ages, roughly of eighteen and forty years. Though they are living under abnormal conditions and are subject to special moral and emotional stresses, they remain essentially the product of our day and generation. The evidence, therefore, of chaplains and others in close touch with all three Services, and with munition factories, may be accepted as conclusive. They testify with one voice to the fact of a wholesale drift from organized religion. The present irrelevance of the Church in

² Press & Publications Board of the Church Assembly, London.

the life and thought of the community in general is apparent from two symptoms which admit of no dispute. They are (1) the widespread decline in church-going; and (2) the collapse of Christian moral standards."

It has been estimated that from ten per cent to fifteen per cent of the population are closely linked to some Christian Church; that twenty-five per cent to thirty per cent are sufficiently interested to attend a place of worship upon great occasions; that forty-five to fifty per cent are indifferent to religion, though more or less friendly disposed toward it; while ten to twenty per cent are hostile. "It is indisputable," says the Commission, "that only a small percentage of the nation today joins regularly in public worship of any kind. Though accurate statistics are hard to obtain, it is significant that matters usually appear to be at their worst where there is no conscious community life. The most depressing reports come from large industrial cities, and from that wide and heterogeneous belt of population which sprawls round London and includes about one-sixth of the total inhabitants of England. In provincial towns and comfortable suburbs (more particularly in the North) the decline in church-going is often less pronounced; though even here there is little cause for satisfaction. Conditions, however, vary surprisingly from parish to parish; the main determining factor being, apparently, the personality of the incumbent. More particularly is this the case in villages where a spiritual leader can often make an astonishing difference."

Our British Churches face their most acute challenge in Britain itself. We need many of the methods of foreign missions here at home if Britain is to be won to a new allegiance to the Christian religion and thus equipped to play her part in world affairs as a Christian nation.

In the report already referred to, the members of the Com-

mission soberly concluded their examination of the Church in Britain in this way:

"It must sorrowfully be admitted that the mass of men today see the Church neither as a supernatural fact, nor as a necessity of the Gospel. Its fellowship is obscured by our unhappy divisions, by the lack of charity found in particular congregations, and by the absence in so many Christians of any burning desire to make Christian principles apply to ordinary life. Consequently, many who look to Christianity to provide a solution for their problems, tend to regard it as an ethical system from which they take just so much as will suit their purpose.

"No one would deny that there is real hunger for fellowship stirring in men's hearts. The tragedy is that the fellowship of the Christian Church seems to offer them less in the way of community than is to be found in membership of a political party, or trade union, or some other secular association. The result is a loss both to those who seek fellowship outside the Church, and to the Church itself. Those outside lack what the Church alone can give through the eternal Gospel. The Church lacks the forceful contribution of those who passionately desire community of spirit and the more just ordering of society.

"We have said that the fellowship of the Church is God-given, and cannot be achieved by human effort alone. This does not mean that there is nothing to be done from man's side. It does mean that what has to be done will not take the form of stunts; but will involve an examination of ourselves to discover where we have departed from God's plan, and so obstructed the full working of the Holy Spirit in the Church."

In other words, we share in Britain in the world frustration of God's people waiting for the authentic word which shall set our feet marching, and that "period of waiting" is a test of our faith and dependence on God.

CANADA

W. J. Gallagher

How did the years of war affect the thought and activity of the Churches in Canada, and what have been the developments of those years in Canadian Church life?

The first thing which calls for comment concerns Christian attitudes to war itself. The overwhelming majority of the Churches supported the country's participation in the war. They had no doubt of being right in opposing Hitler and Nazism. There was, however, no glorification of war. They gave steadfast support to war measures, regarding that as right in the circumstances; but they esteemed the war the less of two evils, and their support was accompanied by a great distress that the affairs of men had been allowed to come to such an impasse, a sense of sharing (though not equally) in the common guilt of war-making mankind, and a renewed determination to find a better way. The conscience of the Churches has become sensitive to questions of war and peace and world order. That has been evident in discussions, sermons, and prayers. There has been no glorifying of war and no exulting in victory.

During the war, the Churches were diligent in efforts to provide the ministries which the times required. It is significant, however, that, even while wartime tasks were making great demands upon their energies, the Churches did not forget the underlying problems of social justice and world order, but were studying them both severally and jointly. It is notable,

also, that there is a very large measure of agreement in what Churchmen say. Emphases may vary, but there is an impressive unanimity about principles and goals. This is not to say that all tensions and differences of opinion about social questions among Canadian Churchmen have been resolved, nor to deny that there are some who find little place for Christian social witness (and less for Christian social action) in their preaching of the Word.

Recent years have seen a revival of interest in Christian doctrine and a fresh emphasis upon the Christian faith in the Canadian Churches. In the United Church of Canada, a Commission on the Christian Faith has produced a Short Statement of the Faith, two books based upon it, a Catechism, and several series of small booklets on the great Christian doctrines, all of which have had a wide circulation. Important studies have been made by a group in the Anglican Communion on the doctrine of the Church. A special Commission of Baptists is studying Baptist beliefs and polity, and a similar Commission is at work for the Presbyterians. In clerical circles, there is a new interest in theology. In some quarters, it is manifested in controversial debates and partisan conflict, but theological controversy is not general. This interest is rather a fresh appreciation of the importance and relevance of the faith. In some lay circles, the same interest is becoming manifest, also. Two years ago, for example, the writer was asked to give a course of lectures at a Summer school for senior young people's leaders, and when a choice of courses was offered, the young people chose a course on Christian doctrine.

Another feature of these years has been a new appreciation of the value of worship and an increasing demand for aids to devotion. The same young people's school which asked for the course on Christian doctrine requested the following year a course on "the nurture of the Christian life." Ministers in

the Churches which have not a fixed liturgy have been concerned to improve their conduct of public worship. Some have not been too wise or happy in their experimentation, but the movement as a whole has been helpful. Devotional literature has had an increasing sale. Booklets for the Week of Prayer, the Lenten *Fellowship of Prayer*, and devotional publications like *The Upper Room* and *Every Day*, which offer daily lessons, prayers, and meditations, have had a wide distribution. *Every Day* is a new quarterly of this kind published by the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Sunday School enrollment has been increasing in Canada in recent years. In the Communions represented in the Religious Education Council of Canada (which includes all the major bodies), from 1931 to 1941, Sunday School enrollment decreased sixteen per cent. From 1941 to 1945, the enrollment increased twenty-one per cent, and at the end of 1945 was about twenty thousand more than when the decline began in 1931. The increase is attributed to a higher birth-rate, the cessation of abnormal wartime conditions, and a keener interest in religious education. This last factor finds further illustration in the widespread discussion of the need for religious education in the day schools. In the Province of Ontario, new provision has been made for religious instruction in the public schools.

Christian missions have an important place in the program of the Churches in Canada. Within the Dominion itself there are large "home mission" areas, all the Churches have missions overseas, and strong missionary organizations support and promote these enterprises. During the war years, the Home Mission Boards, although hampered by lack of man-power, undertook many special responsibilities, such as the services to Camp and War Production Communities. Missions overseas, of course, suffered by the evacuation of missionaries from war-ravaged fields, difficulties of transportation, and other wartime

conditions. Nevertheless, interest was maintained and givings increased. Aid was given to orphaned missions through the International Missionary Council. The experience and services of many missionaries were found highly valuable for special wartime tasks. In 1946, the Churches jointly celebrated the centenary of their missionary undertakings. Now plans and policies for rehabilitation are receiving consideration, and the first returning missionaries have already gone abroad.

Among the most notable and promising developments of these years have been the advances in inter-Church relations. In the Canadian Churches denominational consciousness and loyalty are strong, but there has been a decline of animosity and an increase of friendliness and mutual appreciation. In this area of interest there are three events to record which are of special significance.

The first is the formation of the Canadian Council of Churches. This has resulted from the confluence of two movements, that of Church co-operation in Canada, and the Ecumenical Movement from abroad. For a generation, there had been a growing movement of inter-Church co-operation in the Dominion, which had produced a series of co-operative agencies, each limited to its own particular field. Now it has become advisable to coordinate these with one another, and to integrate them into a more comprehensive Council of the Churches. This movement was given further impetus and a more positive character by the Ecumenical Movement. The organization of the British Council of Churches and the proposing of the new national Council in the United States spurred it on. The Canadian Council of Churches was organized in 1944. Its constitution is based on the Edinburgh Affirmation of Unity and upon scrupulous respect for the autonomy of each Communion. Its members are the Church of England in Canada, the Baptist Federation of Canada, the Churches of

Christ (Disciples), the Evangelical Church, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the United Church of Canada, the Salvation Army, and the Society of Friends. The Evangelical Lutheran Synod co-operates in one Department (Ecumenical Affairs). The national Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and S.C.M. are affiliated members. The members and adherents of these Communions comprise about eighty-five per cent of the population of Canada other than the Roman Catholic.

The purposes of the Canadian Council of Churches may be described briefly as three: giving expression to the fundamental unity of the Christian Communions, working together for the Christian good of Canada, and contributing to an effective Christian witness throughout the world. The Council has not yet emerged entirely from its organizational stage. It has set up Departments of Evangelism, Ecumenical Affairs, and Social Relations. It has taken over the tasks of the former Joint Committee on Evangelization of Canadian Life, and of the former Canadian Committee for the World Council of Churches. It has a close alliance with the Christian Social Council of Canada, which will eventually amalgamate with it; and the Religious Education Council of Canada will soon become its Department of Christian Education. Though still in process of completing its organization, however, the Canadian Council of Churches has already begun to function as an agency of consultation and common action by the Churches. The Department of Evangelism publishes material for the Week of Prayer, promotes common evangelistic efforts, organizes University Christian Missions. The activities of the Department of Ecumenical Affairs include a news-broadcasting service, chaplain service to prisoners of war, concern for refugees, participation in the program of reconstruction and inter-Church aid in Europe, promotion of the Ecumenical Movement, and support

of the World Council of Churches. The Department of Social Relations (Christian Social Council of Canada) deals with moral problems and questions of social order. Already the Council has shown that it can be of great service to the Churches in expressing their unity in Christ, developing greater mutual understanding, and furthering their common Christian tasks.

The second event in the field of co-operation has been of the same kind, the organizing of the Canadian Overseas Missions Council. For twenty-five years we have had in Canada a unique "ecumenical" enterprise in the Canadian School of Missions, in which several mission Boards co-operate. For several years, also, the Secretaries of the Foreign Mission Boards of the Canadian Churches have had an informal Conference for consultation and common planning. In 1945, this latter developed into a more formal and official body, the Canadian Overseas Missions Council. Its character is sufficiently indicated by its name. One of its first projects has been the concerted observance of the centenary of the mission work of the Canadian Churches, of which mention has already been made. A close relationship is being developed between the Canadian Overseas Missions Council and the Canadian Council of Churches.

The third item in this group of events is one of unusual interest. It is a proposal to develop a mutually acceptable ministry in the Church of England in Canada and the United Church of Canada. The General Synod of the former Church in 1943 extended an invitation to the Christian Communion of Canada to enter into conversations on reunion. The United Church of Canada, itself a union of Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches, had, several years before, declared its willingness to consider further Church union. The Anglican invitation was accepted by the United Church, and conversations were carried on over a period of two years. Conversations

were initiated also between the Anglicans and the Baptists, and between the Anglicans and the Presbyterians. Those with the Presbyterian Church and with the Baptist Churches have not yet proceeded far enough to produce any definite recommendations; but the Committees representing the Anglican and the United Churches in 1946 submitted to the General Synod and the General Council, for study, a proposal for a mutually acceptable ministry. This proposal was received by each of these bodies and commended for study throughout the two Churches until the next meetings of these supreme courts in 1948 and 1949.

"The ultimate motive behind all the approach of the two Communion to each other," says the Introduction to the report, "is doubtless that, some day, our Lord's prayer for His Church may be visibly realized, 'That they all may be one.' But the immediate and pressing motive is to be found in the manifest needs of Canada for the unifying of the Christian forces of our land, especially in its outlying regions. . . . We suggest that the next steps be toward a ministry recognized by both Communion and toward unity at the Lord's Table."

Regarding the ministry, "We have considered the subject of the ministry in both Communion," the Committee reports, "and are of the opinion that these two ministries are best considered as parallel to one another rather than identical." The Committee proposes a plan "whereby any minister of the United Church could receive Holy Orders according to the form and manner of the Church of England in Canada, and any clergyman of the Church of England in Canada could be admitted to the ministry of the United Church of Canada by the appropriate Court of that Church and according to the form used in the United Church Book of Common Order. In both cases it would be made clear, by a preface to be read before

the service, that in neither case is any man denying the reality of the ministry he has already received and exercised, but that he is seeking a commission for a further ministry, and the necessary grace from God to perform the same."

The movements toward co-operation are one indication of the fact that the Churches in Canada are far from being satisfied with themselves or with the effectiveness of their work. With all their creditable achievements, they possess a healthy power and habit of self-criticism, and they are perturbed about many things. They are aware of the secularism of modern culture, the practical atheism of modern life, and the laxity of contemporary morals. They feel the urgency given to the search for world order and peace and to the task of world evangelization by the release of atomic energy. In the face of present-day conditions, they are sensible of the shortcomings of their own witness to the truth of the Gospel.

The Canadian Churches are disturbed about the moral and social conditions which have developed in Canada in recent years. No doubt most of our people are decent people, but juvenile delinquency, venereal disease, sexual indulgence, divorce, and kindred problems have compelled us to recognize a serious situation in our moral and social life, especially at the basic level of personal conduct and home and family relationships. The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada in 1946 received an important report on Marriage and Divorce, and the General Council of the United Church of Canada in the same year received the report of a careful study which had been made by a representative Commission on the subject of Christian marriage and the Christian home. The situation which is causing this concern is due in part to wartime and post-war conditions; but that is only a partial explanation. Our standards of personal and family relations have long been having a hard time in a changing world. We

should not exaggerate the decline of these standards, but we should face the situation realistically. To meet it we need many things—good laws, social agencies, economic reforms, but especially moral education and spiritual quickening.

The Churches are disturbed also about the unreached sections of the Canadian population. The census of Canada in 1941 listed a total population of 11,506,655. Of this number, forty-three and one-third per cent are Roman Catholic. The other large Communions are:

The United Church of Canada	19.16% of population
The Church of England in Canada	15.22%
The Presbyterian Church in Canada	7.21%
The Baptist Churches	4.20%
The Lutheran Churches	3.49%

Twenty-four other religious groups are listed specifically in the census report. Those who profess no religion and those whose religion is not stated together number only 36,285. A comparison of the census figures with the statistical reports of the Churches themselves, however, reveals that of 6,200,000 who profess adherence to Communions other than the Roman Catholic, at least a million and a half—probably twenty-five per cent—were not under the pastoral care of these Churches. The Church connection of many others is known to be very tenuous. It is evident that our evangelistic, educational, and pastoral responsibilities are not being fully met.

The Canadian Churches are disturbed also about the inadequacy of our religious education. In 1943, the Canadian Youth Commission (a private and independent body) undertook a study of the main problems of young people fifteen to twenty-four years of age, and one of its reports, published in 1945, is concerned with "Young Canada and Religion." It was prepared by a committee which included French (and English)

speaking members of the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish faiths. In a national survey of youth made for this Commission, fifty-eight per cent said they usually attended Church at least once a week, another fifteen per cent said they went two or three times a month, thirteen per cent less frequently. Only five per cent frankly said they never went at all. Eighty-nine per cent of young Roman Catholics in Canada say they go to Church every Sunday, but only thirty-eight per cent of young Protestants make this claim. The United Church of Canada has a large and well-organized young people's union. The Canadian Youth Commission estimates that twenty-two per cent of United Church young people are active in their Church's youth organization, fifty-seven per cent have some relationship to the Church, and twenty-one per cent are quite indifferent to the Church. The Commission concludes that we may usefully think of Canadian youth as twenty-five per cent religious, fifty per cent slightly religious, and twenty-five completely indifferent or definitely hostile. Apart from the hostile group, many are religiously illiterate. Following a Christian mission in one of our Canadian universities, the leader of the team reported that, before challenging the students to give their personal allegiance to the Christian faith, they had found it necessary to tell them what the faith is; for although these young people had been reared in Christian homes and Churches, they did not know. Such facts raise disturbing questions about our whole program and method of religious education.

The sense of inadequacy in our evangelism and education is increased by the apparent growth of many sectarian movements. It is difficult to form any reliable estimate of the strength of these groups, and it is easy to indicate their defects; but it is evident that they are reaching some people who are not being

touched effectively by the Churches or whose religious nurture therein has not been sufficient.

It has already been stated that forty-three and one-third per cent of the Canadian population is Roman Catholic. A large block of this Roman Catholic population is also French, and a great part of it is concentrated in the one Province of Quebec. The five larger Protestant Communion together constitute approximately forty-nine and one-fourth per cent of our total population. Relations between Protestants and Roman Catholics become somewhat strained at times, and political and religious issues sometimes become dangerously mixed. The non-Roman Churches are confronted with the task of bearing our witness to the truth for which we stand and guarding our heritage on the one hand, and, at the same time, so far as possible, living peaceably with our fellow-citizens; of bearing our positive Protestant witness and at the same time maintaining a truly ecumenical spirit. Our Churches have appointed an Inter-Church Committee which is making a careful study of questions at issue between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Canada. It is coming to be realized, however, that the primary necessity of this situation is that we learn to work together and that we do our work of evangelism and education much better than we have been doing it.

In view of all these conditions, the Canadian Churches have undertaken extensive post-war programs for the strengthening of their work. The United Church of Canada has been occupied with a Crusade for Christ and His Kingdom—a well-conceived, well-organized effort extending over a period of two years. The Baptists have conducted a similar crusade with definite evangelistic and educational objectives. The Evangelical Church and the Disciples have carried forward four-year programs of evangelism. The Church of England in Canada made its Anglican Advance Appeal, and the Presbyterian Church

its Advance for Christ. Wherever possible, these enterprises of the several Communions were supported by co-operative efforts. In many centers, joint Services of Christian Witness have been held, perhaps the most striking being that in Toronto attended by a congregation of sixteen thousand people. There has thus been a great increase of evangelistic activity. Spiritual conferences, visitation evangelism, and preaching missions have been the methods most used. The results have included a quickening of the sense of responsibility for evangelism, and a great in-gathering in many congregations. The Crusade and Advance Movements have combined financial appeals with the evangelistic and educational activities in most cases, that Church funds might be strengthened for the tasks of the future. These appeals also have met with a gratifying response. A further result has been a stimulating of the interest and activity of the laity in the Churches, for they gave active help in visitation evangelism and in the appeals for funds, and surprised themselves, in many cases, with their own ability to bear effective personal Christian witness.

The Churches in Canada are becoming increasingly aware of the world-fellowship of Christians and desirous of playing their part in the Ecumenical Movement. They are missionary Churches, with representatives in many mission lands and close ties with many Younger Churches. They value their membership in the World Council of Churches, and are deeply interested and concerned about all its enterprises. They have supported the Chaplaincy Service to Prisoners of War interned in Canada. They are contributing to the program of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid in Europe. They are pursuing ecumenical studies. They join all readers of this book in praying that Christians everywhere will soon fulfil God's gracious purpose that they should "gather together in one all things in Christ."

3

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

William James Hughes

THE BRITISH West Indies, which is the only part of the Caribbean for which I have any right to speak, was probably less directly touched by the world war than any other place which had close associations with the allied powers. Men and women, chiefly men, left these colonies on various forms of war service, in the armed forces and in factories. They are now returning to their homes, and it is too early to form any accurate estimate of the viewpoint which results from their new and wider experience.

In these colonies, only minor inconveniences were endured during the war. Certain imports were unobtainable, and ships came in with less frequency; mails were delayed but eventually they did come. At the height of the submarine warfare, most of the colonies cared for survivors until arrangements were made for their repatriation. In this service, excellent work was done by the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. and other voluntary bodies. Large sums of money were raised throughout the war years for the Red Cross Fund, and some colonies made loans free of interest to the Imperial Government to help the war effort. In addition, there were special funds for the supply of aeroplanes.

Government controls were imposed, prices were regulated and in some of the colonies, although not in all, an excess profits tax was imposed. Bauxite in British Guiana and oil in

Trinidad flourished and provided continuous work throughout the war for a much larger number of people than before. The leasing of air bases to the United States of America in some of the colonies provided work for many colonial peoples, and a large number of American technicians and, later, American troops arrived. The sugar industry, one of the main industries in these colonies, was apprehensive for a time. The worst fears were removed when sugar prices were fixed and all sugar crops purchased by the Imperial Government. The banana industry in Jamaica was less fortunate, as was the mahogany industry in British Honduras. Against that, the recruiting of men for work in the United States of America from the colonies afforded much needed relief.

Side by side with these facts, mention must be made of the passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act by the Imperial Government in 1941. This was followed by the sending of a commission under the chairmanship of Sir Frank Stockdale, with a team of advisors, to supervise the carrying out of the provisions of the act in the several colonies. The effects of this legislation cannot yet be fully estimated. Schemes have been approved and large grants have been made for public works, health services, education, and social welfare. Special officers have been appointed in all colonies to take charge of different aspects of Development and Welfare policy.

Another important innovation was the establishment of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, which has held two important conferences to discuss the major problems common to the entire Caribbean. The commission has been enlarged and now includes representatives of the French and Dutch Governments, and a permanent secretariat has been set up with headquarters in Trinidad. This is a move in the right direction, since none of the islands in the Caribbean can be self-supporting.

In the British West Indies and in British Guiana, there has been much political awakening during the war years. Indeed, politics is the all-absorbing topic. In Jamaica, a new constitution has been granted, giving to the inhabitants a very real measure of self-government. In other colonies, such as British Guiana, Trinidad, and British Honduras, important changes have taken place in the composition of the government: the franchise has been extended, in Trinidad and Jamaica there is universal adult suffrage. The Bahamas is the most backward in this respect.

It is not surprising to find that, in the West Indies, there is a great absorption of time and talent in purely local and domestic affairs, and great as are the problems which this part of the world presents, it can not be said that the war has accentuated them, for they were here before. How far the war contributed directly to the social and political awakening it would be hard to say. It is probable that the Royal Commission under the chairmanship of the late Lord Moyne, in 1938-1939, did far more than the war to bring home to the people in England the real state of affairs, while the war afforded opportunities which might not have come so soon in peace-time. However, the fact remains that, at the end of the war, the people in the West Indies are far more politically self-conscious than at any time during the last ten years. This fact, together with the urgency of securing economic stability and much-needed social reform of all kinds, presents a situation fraught with great possibilities both good and bad. Everything now depends upon the way the situation is handled, not only by the several governments, but by leaders of all kinds, the Churches included.

The Province of the West Indies consists of the dioceses of Jamaica (at present the seat of the Archbishop of the West Indies), Barbados, Guiana, Antigua, Trinidad, Nassau, the

Windward Islands, and British Honduras. They are widely scattered over the Caribbean, with British Guiana on the mainland of South America, and British Honduras in the Central American belt. The other dioceses are either islands themselves, or consist of groups of islands. The people are a mixed community. There are Negroes, descendants of the slaves, Europeans both English and Portuguese, Chinese, Indians whose ancestors came from India, aboriginal Indians and people of mixed descent who are usually known as Colored People. The Indians (commonly spoken of as East Indians to distinguish them from the aboriginals), are found chiefly in British Guiana and Trinidad: in the former colony they constitute approximately one-half of the population and in the latter about one-third. The majority are either Hindoo or Moslem. In Guiana, only seven per cent are Christian. There is, therefore, in both places an urgent missionary problem, for many of the younger Indians are forsaking the faith of the fathers and are, in fact, nothing in particular. Aboriginal Indians are found mainly in British Guiana and to a less extent in British Honduras. Of these, a large percentage is Christian. The East Indians, the Chinese, and Portuguese came originally as indentured laborers on sugar plantations after the Emancipation of the slaves in 1833. Most of the Chinese are Christian and, of course, the Portuguese. Denominational allegiance varies considerably from place to place. In some places the Roman Catholics predominate, in others Anglicans, with Presbyterians, Methodists, Moravians, and Baptists claiming a fair share. Others are distributed among sects, some of them of local origin and strange they are.

The Anglican Church is a poor Church, with meagre resources, as only a minority of the persons of wealth belong to it. Every diocese, except Barbados, is short staffed, and the men are tired and long overdue for furlough. Their work is heroic and of very high quality. They are among the most self-

sacrificing of men. This can be said also of the clergy and ministers of all denominations. The handicaps under which work is done are formidable, and, in every denomination, the men are found with large areas under their care which include many churches and schools. It is difficult for people in the large countries without knowledge of the Caribbean to appreciate how great are the difficulties.

The people are wonderfully responsive to good leadership. They welcome it, but they steadfastly refuse to be driven, and this applies as well inside the Church as outside. Ministry recruited from local-born men, irrespective of descent, is slowly emerging, and men of good quality are forthcoming. In Codrington College, Barbados, the Church has a splendid instrument for training clergy and is determined to make use of it. Codrington College has an honorable record. It has not only given priests to the Church, but has given to governments and the professions men of real distinction.

So much, then, for the general background. Let us now consider the situation in the light of the war years and after. The West Indian peoples present an interesting study. That is not written in a spirit of patronage, but simply as statement of fact, and, if they are to play their part in the days to come, their whole background needs the most careful study. Nothing is easier than to get a superficial and completely erroneous impression. They are, first of all, a religious people. It is true that their grasp of the Christian faith is for the most part superficial; yet their knowledge of, say, the Creed, Catechism, and Prayer Book provides a foundation on which real knowledge can be built. They have a flair for worship and love coming to church, and a congregation is assured unless bad weather prevails. They have, however, only a very loose grip of the Christian ethic. It is in this connection that the outsider can make his greatest mistake. It is unjust and unfair to paint the

morals of the West Indian in the blackest colors, a thing to which the superficial observer is all too prone. It is easy to note the high percentage of illegitimacy and to draw the worst conclusions. To be rightly assessed, the prevailing moral tone must be set against the proper background, and that is both historical and psychological.

There are, unhappily, three major vices: lying, stealing, and sexual immorality; and there is both a psychological and a historical explanation of the grave problem thus presented. The greater percentage of West Indian people are of African descent. Their ancestors were slaves. They were first stolen, and then sold, and then shipped to the West Indies and sold again to the plantation owners. It was a shocking and revolting traffic, and the blot has not yet been erased from West Indian life. When one remembers this bit of history, it is evident that, far from condemning the present generation of West Indians, we should recognize afresh the great responsibility which rests on those countries which indulged in the slave-trade. When everything has been said which can be said for such masters as were humane, and the story is often a tissue of exaggerations, the fact remains that slaves lived their lives for the most part in fear—hence lying. Even now, there is a strange timidity which marks the average West Indian of African descent. This shows itself in strange ways: sometimes in diffidence when speaking, and sometimes, if he is an educated person, in what many people regard as a bombastic attitude. This is unjust. More often, it is simply a psychological defense reaction which springs from an unconscious sense of oppression. Again, life on the plantations did not provide what should have been provided for bodily needs—hence stealing. The subsequent economic conditions, frequently harsh in the extreme, reaching down to our own day, have not solved this problem. A boy will enter your garden and strip a mango tree. To him, it is not

stealing, it is merely "taking," and this subtle distinction is determined in his mind by the thing involved. Worse still, slaves had all their tribal customs upset and not least their marriage customs. It was not until the early part of the nineteenth century, a few years before emancipation, that they were allowed to marry—hence immorality. One hundred years is a short time in the life of a people.

When these facts are remembered, the resultant picture is vastly different. The wonder now is not that there is much that is bad, but that there is so much that is good. They are a most attractive, responsive, and lovable people. In the one hundred years since the emancipation, their progress has been astonishing. Negro and colored men now hold posts of responsibility in every walk of life, and they have proved their worth. A new community is in the making. Local talent in the arts, in education, in the professions, and in local and central government, is showing that it is not one whit inferior to anything which older communities can show. In the one case, accumulated experience is greater; in the other, there is all the freshness and exuberance of youth, with the same impatience and the same propensity for making mistakes. This coming community is, nevertheless, sound at heart, with an ever-present disposition to learn from those who can teach and whose motives are genuinely disinterested. The opportunity before the Churches is great.

In some respects, however, there has been a falling away from the Church, as a result of the war. There is a wholesale acceptance of the facile belief that man is quite capable of putting right what is wrong, and that it can be done by international accord, educational and social services programs. What is ignored is the inherent sinfulness of man and the consequent instability. The main business of the Churches is to proclaim, in season and out of season, the Christian Way

of Life, and Christian principles of conduct which are of universal application, without which man's best-laid plans will fail.

One of the outstanding changes is the rapid multiplication of exotic sects, which do untold harm. Among the denominations, there is a greater willingness to co-operate in social and educational work than ever before. In most of the colonies Social Service Councils exist and, in some, the Roman Catholics co-operate well. Much useful work is being done. Statements of Christian principles have been published in British Guiana touching important subjects such as education, marriage and the family, housing, work and wages. These have attracted wide-spread attention, and the statement on education was the subject of a special fifteen-minute broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation from London. There are no signs of any approaches toward Christian unity. There has, however, been a joint approach to the subject of religious teaching in all schools, notably in British Guiana.

One of the greatest needs is for Christian literature of high quality. The British and Foreign Bible Society is at work in the colonies, and its work is probably strongest and more diffused in Jamaica than elsewhere. The demand for the Bible is very great, perhaps greater now than before the war. The Bible is read in the West Indies and this alone calls for greater effort on the part of the denominations to make provision for systematic study. This is the more urgent in face of the activity of the Watch Tower organization, which floods every colony with its literature. Recently, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the oldest of the British societies, sent one of its responsible agents to meet the West Indian bishops at their Synod in Jamaica. As a result, S.P.C.K. bookshops are being opened in every colony, where religious literature of all kinds,

from standard works to tracts, will be available. The books offered will be those of all denominations.

The greatest need of all is well-trained leaders. Youth work is receiving much attention and the several governments are playing their part. Organizations such as Jamaica Welfare Ltd. and Barbados Welfare Ltd. are doing good work, and they are paying special attention to the training of leaders, particularly for club work. The 4H club movement is making headway. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. are active bodies, and so, too, are the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and the Church Lads Brigade. Good as this work is, it can not be denied that it touches only the fringe of the problem of youth work. Leaders of real quality are few and far between. It must be noted with special regret that Europeans do very little for the most part. There are notable exceptions, but, compared with what is needed, we can say that the Europeans offer no help. Indeed, their own behavior all too often spoils the efforts of the very few who are working for better things. The work with young men and boys suffers most. The girls have been more fortunate, especially the Girl Guides. In all this work, the Churches have played a prominent part, and until the advent of the Development and Welfare specialists, the Churches carried the whole burden.

In each denomination, there are to be found numbers of keen lay people, who do much hard and useful work to build up the life of the Christian community. In some dioceses, particularly in the more scattered, such as Nassau, and, in a different way, British Guiana, much work falls upon the local catechists. Some of these are very good, and are in a true sense leaders of their people. There is, however, still room for more training and that is a difficult problem. Care is taken that catechists who conduct services and teach in school are trained, yet their interests and outlook in many cases are circumscribed,

way for fuller co-operation in the future, to which the Christian Social Councils now existing are pointers.

It is clear, however, that the West Indies is largely outside the wider movements and anything which can be done to bring the West Indies into touch with these wider movements is to be welcomed. Local problems are so numerous and, apparently, so intractable, that hitherto all attention has been concentrated upon them—and to a large extent still is. The Gambia and Rio Pongas Mission, which took its origin from Barbados in 1871 and is well supplied by the Province now, is proof that West Indians are capable of responding to a wider appeal. This is supported by the contribution which has been made by West Indians to the deliberations of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission in recent days. Perhaps, in the not-too-distant future, the West Indies may be favored by a visit from someone who can speak with authority on the wider movements in thought and action in which the Churches are involved throughout the world. Such a visit would be gain indeed.

Those who know the West Indies well agree that, unless the work of the Church is strengthened in these parts, a society will evolve, materialist in outlook, defective in moral sense, and a menace to society. On the other hand, if the work of the Church is strengthened in every respect, the West Indies presents a field from which a rich spiritual harvest can be gathered, and a people built up who will be God fearing and able to make a valuable contribution to the welfare of mankind.

4

INDIA

Eddy Asirvatham

NOTHING short of a revolution is taking place in the Orient as a result of World War II. The East is no longer mild and meek, willing to put up with the economic exploitation and political domination of the Western European nations. She is becoming increasingly confident of her own strength and is determined to secure a place of dignity and equality in a family of self-respecting and self-governing nations. In Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China, Burma, Ceylon, and India, the war has whetted the appetite for political freedom. All of these countries are on the way to securing a vastly greater measure of independence in the management of their own affairs than they have had for generations.

India has her internal difficulties which are prolonging the distance between promise and realization. But the independence of India as a federal republic with autonomous provinces and semiautonomous groups or sections can not long be delayed. Barring the Moslem League (which is demanding the partition of India, carving out distinct Moslem States from the present India), Hindus, Sikhs, Parsees, Christians, and the so-called Untouchables all stand for a free, united, and federal India.

In the realization of such an ideal for India, the Christian Church is playing an increasingly notable part. But it can not be said that it has always done that. Far too long the Church

in India as a whole, as well as a great many individual Christians, has sat on the fence, letting others fight the battle for freedom. It is true that all have taught brotherhood, freedom, justice, and equality; but there has always been an immense gulf between profession and practice. Nevertheless, through their schools and colleges, through their hospitals and dispensaries, and through their rural reconstruction centers, Christian missions have played an important part in awakening the minds and consciences of the people to the crying needs of the country.

The status of Christianity in a free India has been agitating the minds of many Christians. There is a fear in many quarters that a free India might discriminate against Christians and Christian institutions.

Concerted efforts are being made in certain sections of the country, notably in the Indian State of Travancore, to deprive Christian organizations of the responsibility which they have shared for years for primary education. While the motive actuating such a measure is not the highest, Christians must reconcile themselves to the fact that primary education is essentially a task of the modern State and that a free India can not afford to ignore it. In spite of the State's undertaking the major responsibility for primary education, in the educationally backward conditions prevailing in India there is bound to be a definite place for schools run by private bodies and charitable organizations. To put them out of commission with a fiat of the State is like cutting off the nose in order to spite the face.

If what non-Christians are really afraid of is the indoctrination of their children in sectarianism or their becoming strangers to the culture and genius of the country, the matter is not difficult of adjustment. No right-minded Christian wants to take undue advantage of his position in converting people against their wishes—in securing converts. India does not want

indoctrination. But she wants, like any other country in the world, the systematic training of the young in clean, healthy, social living and in civic virtues as well as in prayer and worship. It is surely not beyond the ingenuity of man to devise such a program of study and training on a mutually agreed upon interreligious basis.

In Travancore, again, hindrances are placed in the way of Christians' building houses of worship and using them as both church and school. Only the faint-hearted will be dismayed by these restrictions, which are largely the reflection of the idiosyncrasies of a single individual. They do not reflect the permanent and settled mood of the bulk of our countrymen. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who represents the progressive mind of India, has gone on record as saying: "Although our ultimate aim is a secular State not to be identified with any particular religion, freedom of conscience and recognition of the religious rights of all citizens must be the starting-point. Indian Christians are part and parcel of the Indian people. Their traditions go back 1,500 years and more and they form one of the many enriching elements in the country's cultural and spiritual life. In a country with so many creeds as India, we must be tolerant."

There is no doubt whatever that this statement represents the better mind of non-Christian India. Already, Indian Christians of ability are called to positions of leadership and responsibility in the public affairs of the country. All this goes to show that Indian Christians can well afford to rely upon their intrinsic worth, their ability and character, and do not need any special rights and privileges. This does not mean that in a free India there will be no discrimination against Indian Christians, especially in villages, but it is bound to be trivial and short-lived, no more usually than a mere pin prick.

Seeing, however, that not all of our countrymen are of the

caliber and moral grandeur of Mr. Nehru, Indian Christians are justified in demanding that a list of fundamental rights be guaranteed to them as well as to the rest of the country, in the new constitution for India, together with the appropriate legal instruments for the enforcing of these rights. Not long ago, the influential Sapru Committee proposed that in a free India Christians could have the right to preach Christianity, but not to propagate it. Suffice it to say that such a distinction is difficult to draw. Even the teaching of chemistry by a consecrated and earnest Christian is a form of propagation. Christians in the new India have a right to insist upon the freedom to profess, practice, preach, and propagate Christianity on equal terms with every other spiritual community in the country—of course, within limits of public law and morality.

If a free India has a responsibility toward its Christian population, so have Indian Christians toward their country. Hinduism's difficulty ought never to be regarded as Christianity's opportunity. Mass-movement conversions are valid only if we make adequate provision for the moral and religious training of converts both before and after conversion. But conversions with a view merely to swelling our numbers stand self-condemned. In all our evangelistic methods, we must take care that, like Caesar's wife, we are above suspicion. We have a right and duty to rejoice with non-Christians in all the efforts which they make to purify their own religions and bring them into line with the growing enlightenment and crying needs of our day. We shall not complain that non-Christians are stealing our thunder and not giving us a chance to be in the center of the picture all the time.

In all national matters, we shall throw our weight entirely on the side of those who are seeking to bring about a better and happier India where there will be equality before law for all, equal civic and political rights, equal economic opportu-

nity, and special educational facilities for those who have been kept down in the past by unenlightened public opinion. We shall not countenance imperialism, communalism, or personal domination of political adventurers. Where necessary, we shall be willing to sacrifice the smaller good of the Christian community for the larger good of the country.

If the Church in India is to be an effective witness, it should close the divisions within its ranks and stand before the world as a united body. Thanks to the painstaking efforts of such bodies as the National Christian Council, the Student Christian Movement, the National Missionary Society, the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A., denominationalism does not receive undue prominence in India. On many educated Indian Christians, denominational loyalties sit very lightly; and this is how it should be. It is a matter for profound thankfulness that, after twenty-seven years of patient effort, the union of the South India United Church, the Anglican Church, and the British Methodist Church is within sight.

The true basis of Church union is not an agreed formula or compromise hiding vital differences on such matters as creed, sacraments, ministry, and Church polity. The true basis is faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and mutual and gladsome recognition of the ministries, sacraments, and polities of the various churches. What I look for in a minister of Christ is not ecclesiastical pedigree but the fruits of the Holy Spirit. An ornate form of worship, with elaborate rituals and ceremonies, appeals to some but not to all. An episcopal form of government may be necessary for the well-being of the Church, but certainly not for its being. Unless an intelligent agreement can be reached on these first propositions, the Christian Church in India is likely to be regarded by our critics as a mockery.

It gladdens one's heart to note that negotiations for Church union are taking place in North India between the Methodists

and Presbyterians and that the Jaffna Church in Ceylon is negotiating a union with the Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists in Ceylon. Our earnest prayer is that large bodies which are still keeping out of any union will soon be led by God to closer co-operation, culminating in at least a federal union, though not in amalgamation. Divisions within the non-Roman Churches in India are an expensive luxury which we can ill afford.

A second condition for the effectiveness of the Christian Church is its increasing indigenoussness. If we grant, as we gladly do, the ecumenical character of the Christian Church there is no "foreigner" and no "native" within its fold. We are all members of a single spiritual organism. Nevertheless, when we are dealing with people at different levels of development, it is necessary to provide special opportunities for those who have been backward hitherto in order that we may elicit indigenous leadership and direction. No one suggests that the foreign missionary has no place at all in India. As one of the writers in *Re-thinking Christianity in India* says: "If the missionary desires to see the coming into being of the Indian church, he should not continue to dominate church committees." His proper place, continues the writer, is neither at the *front* nor at the *back*, but somewhere at an arm's length. He should not dominate. He should not desert. He should put himself within easy reach of the Church. It is a matter for disappointment that not many of the 4,000 Protestant missionaries in India heed such advice.

While, in the sphere of governmental administration, transfer of the work of Christian missions and Churches to Indian hands is taking place, the transfer is painfully slow. The common plea that too rapid a change will result in the impairing of efficiency is not always borne out by facts. The Church in India suffers for want of first-rate leadership; and men of first-

rate ability hesitate to offer their services because of lack of opportunity for their talents and inventiveness. Another cause is, of course, the lack of conviction regarding the uniqueness of Christianity or the effectiveness of the Christian Church. One has known of a few highly idealistic Christian young men who threw themselves heart and soul into the national struggle for freedom, but spurned work in the Church and for the Christian community as a sort of milk-and-water business. The Church in India and, for that matter, in the rest of the world, has no assured future unless it appeals to the heroic in man's nature. A thought which must cross the mind of any one burning with a passion for service is, "Are the Church and the Christian community as I know them worthy of my sacrifice?"

Reverting to the question of indigenoussness, the Church in India is bound to be ineffective so long as we maintain an artificial distinction between mission and Church. If Christians from abroad can not come to India and serve in and through the local Church, they might just as well remain at home. In a common enterprise, we can not have two conflicting, or at least two over-lapping, jurisdictions. This does not mean that special consideration is not to be shown to those coming from abroad as regards emoluments, furlough allowances, and the like. If the Christian Church in India is to grow and develop, mission boards abroad should diminish and Church councils on the field should increase. Funds from abroad and local subscriptions should go into a common pool out of which workers may be paid, broadly on the basis of needs. With the least possible delay and in as judicious a manner as possible, mission property should be transferred to the Church. When the Japanese threat of invasion was imminent, there was an eagerness to make such a transfer in India, but, with the passing away of that threat, the eagerness also has diminished.

For years to come we shall welcome "offers of consecrated

service from other lands." Speaking negatively, we do not want (1) men or women of the bossy kind; (2) those unable to understand and appreciate the quality of the Indian soul; (3) those who have not genuine Christian convictions born of a Christian experience; (4) those who are intellectually ill-equipped for their tasks; and (5) those who are temperamentally, psychologically, and physically unfit for the exacting tasks of a missionary. Speaking positively, in the words of Rev. David Chellappa of the Anglican Church in Madras, we want (1) dedicated and spirit-filled men noted for their goodness; (2) men of education and culture; (3) men who have divested themselves of their ultra-nationalism, whose Christianity is their outstanding quality; and (4) more unmarried men missionaries.

If the right kind of missionaries were available, of the type to which C. F. Andrews belonged, the Indian Church would not only welcome them but lay itself at their feet. Such missionaries, says Chellappa, would help us to complete the unfinished task of evangelism in India, prevent the Church in India from becoming narrowly nationalistic and conceited, and serve as a stabilizing influence as the Church learns to become self-governing and self-supporting.

More important than the question of foreign versus national personnel, from the point of view of an indigenous Church, is the question of Indianizing Church music, art, architecture, and doctrinal statements. There is considerable original thinking and doing in this sphere. But when we come to the field of theology and doctrinal statements, the Church in India rests on the stilts provided by the West. Christianity in India can not take roots and flourish unless we can do our own thinking and state it in our own way, consonant with the genius of our people. We shall welcome light and guidance from all quarters, but refuse to be bound hand and foot by Martin

Luther, Calvin, or John Knox; or by any modern theologian or philosopher—Hocking, Barth, Kraemer, or Niebuhr. It is an encouraging sign of the times that men like Dr. A. J. Appasmy and the Re-thinking group in Madras are thinking their own religious and theological thoughts. We want more such efforts. The School on Hinduism at Benares and the Henry Martyn School on Islam are steps in the right direction.

The citadel of theological education in India is likely to be the last citadel to yield. Earnest efforts are being made by the National Christian Council to effect order, good will, and co-operation in this field among different denominations. The tangible results, however, are still meager. It is not always remembered that Christ and Christianity are far more important than theology and "Churchianity."

It is true that what men think in their hearts, that they are in their daily lives. But none of us knows all truth. We know in part and prophesy in part. Therefore, it seems to us that the various Churches, without abandoning their respective theological convictions, can join hands together and establish a few first-rate theological colleges in India which will be "watch towers of Christianity" in a non-Christian land. So long as we have purely denominational or sectarian theological schools, we shall perpetuate in the Church the existing disunity which we all deplore.

The Church in India can not continue in its traditional ways if it is to achieve complete domicile in the country of its adoption. The paymaster-servant relation between the missionary and the Indian worker should immediately give place to genuine comradeship and partnership. Methods indigenous to the soil of India, such as the Ashram method, should receive encouragement. Rightly or wrongly, the Indian expects a religious teacher to be a man who has risen above earthly cares and worries, and lives a life of utter simplicity, devoting much

time to religious thought, meditation, and contemplation, and loaning himself in the service of the common people. Men like Dr. S. Jesudason and Dr. E. Forrester-Paton of Timpatur Ashram are the Indian ideal of a missionary. The Indian does not have much regard for the much-harassed, ever-busy, report-writing missionary who has not the time for study, meditation, and unhurried friendly intercourse with inquirers. India ought to have a network of Christian Ashrams where the future saints of the Christian Church can grow in Christian thinking and living, bringing strength and support to a Church which has often attached undue importance to Westernization, government patronage, and material values.

It is a welcome sign of the times that the Anglican Church in India will soon be disestablished. There is no reason why non-Christian State funds should be used for maintaining a Church even in part or for supporting Christian chaplains in the army.

Dr. Walter Horton speaks of the urgent need there is today for "dimensional pioneering" in the Christian Church as against "geographical pioneering." Geographical pioneering has practically come to an end. The Gospel has been carried to the remotest corners of the earth. There are no longer distant lands which have not heard the Gospel of Jesus. Where we are lacking is in the fitting of Christian truths to every-day life, and in the application of the mind and spirit of Jesus to our social, economic, political, and international problems. It is futile to waste time on the current theological issue as to whether the Kingdom of God is a gift from God or something in the realization of which man has a share. It is as clear as daylight that a better order of things is impossible of attainment unless God can use human hands and feet in His service. World War I and World War II have brought the stock of Christianity low in the estimation of non-Christians. Unless the Church of our

day can find an alternative to war which will be in keeping with the teachings of Jesus, partially realized by Gandhi, the testimony of the Church will fall upon deaf ears. It is a matter for regret that the Christian Church in India has generally been supremely indifferent to the experiments in non-violence conducted by Gandhi and thousands of his followers. It may be that Gandhi's method was not Christian. But Christian support of war is infinitely worse.

In the social, economic, and educational fields, the opportunity of the Indian Church is boundless. On every hand, we hear of a crying need for village service. Noble efforts have already been made in this direction by Christian missionaries and Indian workers. We want a redoubling of these efforts if we are to do our duty properly. Famine or near-famine conditions are bound to threaten India for some years to come. The efforts which have already been put forth by government and Christian bodies are not enough. They have only scratched the surface.

Unless production can be increased markedly within the next ten or fifteen years, one fails to see how economic distress can be averted. The Christian Church in India, meager though its resources, should go all out in helping the new government of India to improve economic conditions in city and village. If primary education is increasingly closed to us, we shall not sit in the corner and mope, but launch out into new avenues of service. We shall concentrate our efforts upon technical training, agricultural education, adult literacy, the training of teachers, of doctors, public health workers, nurses, midwives, and temperance workers, training in homecraft and first aid.

The nation-building activities of India are receiving an attention today which they have never received before. Prohibition has been introduced into several districts (not under British but under Congress rule). The first steps have been

taken in implementing the Sargent scheme which aims at the eradication of illiteracy in twenty-five years. Work has been started on road-building, railway development, rural electrification, expansion of irrigation facilities, industrialization, the erecting of fertilizer plants, expansion of scientific research, dairy-farming, and the like. All this throws open myriad roads to the Christian Church—for service, “research and extension.”

In coping with these manifold developments, Christian missions will do well to send out to India for short periods men and women, experts in their fields in their own countries, who would be willing to go to India to set in motion new developments and at the same time to train people on the spot to take over their pioneering work in the shortest time possible. Short-term vocational and technical experts with a Christian spirit are urgently needed.

One other field where the Christian Church in India can render great service is in the field of ecumenical Christianity. By its very nature, the Christian Church is ecumenical. It ought not to countenance any barriers of race, caste, class, or nationality. A Christian ought to be a good nationalist and a better internationalist. It is a welcome sign of the times that increasing numbers of Indian Christians are coming to the West as ambassadors of good will, as students, and as professors. They are a reminder of the fact that culture is a two-way traffic and not a one-way. The West and the East can both give to each other and learn from each other lessons of abiding value.

In addition to doing all that has been said above, the Church in India will fail woefully if it does not produce saints and prophets even more than stewards and administrators. Saints and prophets can not be produced to order. But the Church can at least strive to provide the climate where sainthood and prophecy can have a fair chance of development and survival.

5

AUSTRALIA

Alan Percival Tory

THE AREA of Australia is nearly as great as that of the United States. The population of seven million people is concentrated on the coastal fringe, since a great part of the inland is uninhabitable, and the system of sheep-farming in the more fertile parts requires a minimum of workers. About half the population lives in the capital cities of the six states, where conditions are comparable with urban life in other parts of the world, while the countryman, who remains the typical and representative Australian, lives often in remote places, and needs to match his ingenuity and resolution against the vagaries of climate, to face flood and drought, and take prosperity and disaster as they come.

The Australian temperament is disposed toward a practical form of religion which expresses itself in comradeship. The vastness of the continent and the all-powerful forces of nature, which act independently of the human will, encourage in some a mood of faith which looks from the littleness of man toward the greatness of God, and in others an implicit confession of the futility of long-range planning, and a spirit of grabbing which "flogs" the soil, careless of the future.

In this sunburnt country of sweeping plains and rugged mountain ranges, the Christian Church has evolved a practical and human form of religion. Its pastoral work has out-

shone its theological thinking, which, so far, has been willing to reflect European and American trends.

The scattered population of Australia was formed into a Federation only at the beginning of the present century, and, even yet, State jealousies linger and local prides and prejudices survive to obscure the vision of one commonwealth. Church life has suffered in the past from the tension between local and national interests, and the achievement of coordinated effort has faced obstacles explained by the historical development of a widely diffused white community, which dates back to 1788. Today, for instance, because of the heritage of State separations, the Anglican Church (which is not established) does not, like the Anglican Church in England, speak with one voice through periodical meetings of its bench of bishops. It suffers from diocesan sectionalism, its bishops acting independently of one another, the Primate of Australia having no authority comparable with that of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The recent war has, however, served to uncover defects of Church organization, and to give an impetus toward the realizing of a more closely knit Protestantism. In 1941, the Australian Council of Churches was founded. This was a helpful step toward that unity of effort and pooling of experience which is logically completed in the integrating of Australian Church life in the Ecumenical Movement.

Australian Christianity has emerged from the world conflict with a greatly strengthened interest in world affairs, reflected in the formation of a Federal Branch of the World Council of Churches, of which the Archbishop of Sydney has been appointed president. Commissions have been set up to inquire into (1) Faith and Order; (2) Life and Work; (3) Pacific Problems; (4) Immigration; (5) International Co-operation; and (6) The Control of Atomic Energy.

One symptom of the drawing together of the Churches

through the pressure of national and world crisis has been the "Religion and Life" Conference instituted by Dr. de Witt Batty, the Archbishop of Newcastle, to the annual meetings of which speakers of all denominations are invited. Roman Catholics as well as Protestants share in the conferences, which have shown proof of striking agreements in the field of applied Christianity. This co-operation, stimulated by war, is further strengthened through recognition of the wide gulf separating the secularist from the religious outlook, and the need for a joint combatting of materialism with its concomitant of cynicism in the face of mankind's urgent political, social, and moral problems.

It is in the realm of education that a crucial test is being applied to the Christian conscience of Australia. For three quarters of a century, State education in Australia has been secular, with the proviso that representatives of the several Churches be permitted to teach religion, and that one period each week be given to non-sectarian teachings of the Bible. Religion, however, has remained unrelated to the life of the school, and external to the whole process of education. There has been no opening exercise of corporate worship, and, in practice, the Churches, through lack of manpower, have been unable to avail themselves to the full of the limited opportunities provided for them, and have failed to give expert teaching which reaches a high standard. The Christian leaders of Australia are now exploring recommendation of an agreed syllabus of fundamental Christianity for use in State schools by teachers with religious convictions who have received adequate theological training in colleges. It is, of course, recognized that rights of conscience must remain inviolate and parents should be at liberty to withdraw children from religious worship or instruction.

The whole Australian Church has a lively interest in mis-

sions, which minister to the aborigines of Australia and extend to Fiji, New Guinea, Papua, and India. An interesting feature of Australian missionary activity is the transmitting of some of its ideals into practical governmental agencies. For instance, the Flying Doctor Service, instituted by the Australian Inland Mission, has been a boon to families living in remote places. By the use of pedal-wireless, messages in time of desperate need were sent to distant medical stations, through which aid was immediately supplied by an aeroplane service maintained by the subscriptions of Christian people. This work made so deep an impression upon the citizens of Australia that it has now been taken over on behalf of the whole community by the State, which contemplates its extension to New Guinea. Also, the pressure of missionary opinion upon the Federal Government has resulted in great changes in the administration of New Guinea. There the ending of the indenture system has been determined upon by the present Minister for External Affairs, who has carried out his work in close consultation with missionary leaders governed by deep concern for the welfare of native peoples.

Thus, Christianity in Australia has scored signal successes in shaping the social structure of a country where only a minority of the citizens is actively concerned in organized congregational life. The tensions and anxieties of war gave an impetus to institutional religion from the hour when Australia came under the shadow of a grave threat of invasion. The consolation of Christian faith was sought by the many who were separated from loved ones, and by those who were fearful of the morrow; but with the end of danger and the return of relative security, a spirit of torpor and lethargy has succeeded the high tension and excitement of the war years. Congregations are smaller and the progress of the Church now depends upon the stamina of a hardy minority who preserves that vision without

which the people must perish. In the public mind, there is but slight interest in denominationalism, and equally slight concern for schemes of organic union. A hearing, however, is given to outstanding leaders in all denominations who are able to relate Christianity to current needs and problems. No greater service could be rendered by the ecumenical Church to Christianity in this young country than the sending of a stream of visiting leaders from Churches in other lands.

In facing the post-war world with its peculiar challenge, the Protestant Churches are being forced to deep thinking and to a return to the springs of Christian faith. Much interest is shown in Dr. George McLeod's Iona Community in Scotland, and the need for a renewal of the spirit of prayer and contemplation is felt in every Protestant Church. Increasing emphasis is being placed upon worship and its relation to the lives of men in an industrial world which has moved into the atomic era. The spirit of community is emphasized and, as a corollary, group-thought, long an established part in the Student Christian Movement, is playing an increasing part in the life of the Church.

The Forum of the Air which faces contemporary problems such as the questioning of the scientific mind and the challenge of Communism, secures a wide and interested audience. There is a growing interest in religious drama and in religious films. The Presbyterian Church in Victoria has appointed a Director of Visual Education whose work is to stimulate congregations in the use of films for educational and evangelical purposes.

Serious attention is being given to raising the educational standards of the ministry, and to attracting candidates of high caliber to our theological colleges. It is being driven home to all discerning observers that the future of Protestantism depends upon breeding laymen who will undertake tasks of spir-

itual leadership, and annihilating the gulf between the clerical and the lay mind. There are hopeful signs of effective lay leadership arising in a Protestant Church where hitherto there has been too great a tendency for laymen to concentrate upon the material aspect of the Church's life, leaving the larger questions of the meaning and purport of Christianity to ordained ministers.

Religious liberty is enjoyed in Australia, where the peculiar danger resides not in any direct attack, but in encroachment upon the life and work of the Churches by secular forces indifferent to religion. The answer to this threat is to sharpen and intensify the impact of a living religion upon the community through dynamic preaching, ordered and reverent worship, and a frank facing of tensions, injustices, and challenges which compose the pattern of every man's daily life.

The most powerful among the Protestant Churches in Australia are the Church of England, which, as indicated above, is not established, the Presbyterian, and the Methodist Churches. The amicable spirit governing their relations with one another, and with the other Protestant Churches, is expressed now in a desire for working together while preserving separate identities, rather than for organic union. The practice of conducting an ecclesiastical census in a new community and handing it over to the Protestant Church with the largest number of adherents is tending to be discarded and, instead, the several Churches are setting up their own places of worship in each community and co-operating in a variety of joint efforts.

In the Anglican Church, the Christian Social Order Movement is vigorous. It is concerned with man's sin and the need for redemption before any social movement can bear fruit. Anglicans are keen about keeping Church Schools up to the best possible standard and in providing hostels for children who attend schools far from home. All shades of theology are repre-

sented in the Anglican Church, ranging from extreme fundamentalism to high Anglo-Catholicism.

The policy of the Methodist Church is rather to leave education to the State, seeking to secure a strategic place for religion in the curriculum.

Like the Anglicans, the Methodists aim to establish hostels wherever possible so that children undertaking their schooling away from home may grow up in a religious atmosphere. Specific emphasis is being placed upon youth work. In the cities, Youth Centers which give vocational training are being set up as part of Community Centers, through which an attempt is being made to solve the problem of a "downtown" Church.

In the Presbyterian Church, there is a strong feeling that religion and education are inseparable and a great conviction that Presbyterian schools must be maintained and extended within the framework of the educational system of the country. A forward movement is therefore planned to increase staff salaries and raise the quality of education provided in Church Schools. The provision of hostels for country children, and of hospitals, are two fields which the Church is vacating in favor of State effort, having in mind the success of the "Flying Doctor" scheme under the new Federal auspices.

The Congregational and Baptist and other smaller Churches contribute vigorously to the religious life of Australia. There is much intensive loyalty and eager service in the smaller Churches, which make an impact upon the community through unflagging evangelical zeal.

Representatives of leading Protestant Churches have made careful inquiries into the possibilities of inter-Communion, believing that all who have been called upon to exercise their ministry within the limitations of a divided Church should be enabled to share to the utmost a wider, fuller, and more effec-

tual ministry in a reunited fellowship. The members of this exploratory group hold that this wider and more effectual ministry should be initiated by the mutual laying on of hands, with prayer and with the use of such a formula as shall leave no room for any scruple or doubtfulness. The formula runs thus:

"Receive the Holy Ghost for the fuller exercise of Christ's ministry and priesthood in the Church of God, and for wider and more effectual service therein take thou authority to preach the word of God, to fulfill the Ministry of reconciliation, and to minister Christ's sacraments in the congregations whereunto thou shalt be further called or regularly appointed. And see that thou stir up the grace bestowed upon thee in the call of God and by the laying on of hands."

The formula of prayer for the laying on of hands is recommended to be said by at least two duly chosen and appointed ministers of each Christian Communion, committed in this way to inter-Communion and fellowship. All such duly chosen and appointed ministers are individually to receive the mutual laying on of hands with prayer on the occasion of their first participating in this mutual right, but no minister shall receive such laying on of hands more than once from any one Communion. This proposal for the mutual laying on of hands, while not yet adopted, remains a good incentive to all who desire to seek God's glory in the unity of His Church. The committee, whose findings were published in 1940, included Dr. Wand, Archbishop of Brisbane (now Bishop of London), Dr. de Witt Batty, Archbishop of Newcastle, who is the force behind the annual conference of the "Religion and Life" Movement, and leading ministers in the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches.

6

NEW ZEALAND

Alwyn K. Warren

IN ORDER to appreciate how organized Christianity in New Zealand has emerged from the war, it is necessary to take a brief glance at the history of our young country, and the growth of our Christian life and work.

It is but a century and a quarter since the Gospel was brought to the Maori people by Samuel Marsden, a priest of the Church of England, then working in Australia. Missions were established by the Church of England, and soon afterward by the Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches. Nineteen years later, the country was incorporated within the British Empire, not through conquest by war, but by peaceful treaty.

Settlement progressed, two of the major schemes being promoted by the Church of England and the Free Church of Scotland. In this early period, when people were sparsely settled in scattered districts, and seldom visited by clergy or ministers, there was a considerable amount of denominational vagueness. As settlement became more organized, denominational differences, inherited from the country from which the people had come, began to make themselves felt; these loyalties were, however, more often than not, based on grounds other than reasoned conviction.

There had been early attempts by the Churches to play their part in the growing educational system of the country. But these efforts were frustrated by the sectarian background

brought from England. In 1877, the National Educational System was made secular.

Since the turn of the century, there has been a growing realization of the sin of our Church divisions and of the need to heal them. This has been more noticeable among the non-Episcopal Churches, among some of whom there have been and still continue to be conversations on a basis of Church Union.

The Anglican Church in New Zealand has always maintained close touch with England as has the Presbyterian with Scotland, and the Methodist with England. Recruits from the homeland have brought with them the trends of the mother Churches, and these have somewhat later been reflected here. The Tractarian Movement, for instance, gradually made itself felt, until today in New Zealand there are to be found all shades of ecclesiastical opinion, from Anglo-Catholicism to extreme Evangelicalism.

During recent years, within the Anglican Church, growth of the Anglo-Catholic influence has in some districts shown itself in a preference to devote all energy to the work of the individual communion, except on purely social questions; in other areas, however, the Anglo-Catholic point of view has made a real contribution to the enrichment of inter-Church life, and has ably demonstrated that co-operation need not lead to compromise of principle.

For many years, the Student Christian Movement has worked in New Zealand. In 1921, a Council of Religious Education was formed, six churches striving together to enrich their educational work. It was noticeable how much the Student Christian Movement contributed to the progress of this body, which established Regional Youth Councils, sending out to the Youth Movements men and women inspired with the ecumenical vision. The Council of Religious Education was the link between New Zealand and Oxford and Edinburgh in

1937, selecting our representatives, and, on their return, arranging their opportunities of spreading the Conference messages. As a result of these Conferences, the National Council of Churches in New Zealand was subsequently formed.

What effect did the outbreak of war in 1939 have upon the religious life of New Zealand? It should be realized that the total population of the country (about the size of the British Isles) is little more than a million and a half, and that it is served by a thousand non-Roman clergy and ministers. New Zealand sent overseas, in its Navy, Army, and Air Force, probably a much larger proportion of its young men and women than did other parts of the Empire; consequently, a relatively large band of clergy and ministers served as chaplains to the Forces, being selected in proportion to the numerical strengths of their denominations. This led to an accentuation of the already understaffed situation of the non-Roman Churches.

In spite, however, of the many wartime difficulties, a very definite growth in the expression of the ecumenical outlook has taken place. Out of a background of great unsettlement and dislocation of national life, there sprang the next step in ecumenical co-operation.

It was in April, 1941, that the National Council of Churches in New Zealand was formed, in unity with the embryo World Council. From the start, the members of the N.C.C. had a marked spirit of understanding and fellowship, for nearly all the representatives were already well known to each other; and they had little difficulty in aiming at the same things.

The Constitution defines some of the objects of the N.C.C. as follows:

1. To establish and maintain close relations with the World Council of Churches and with all Ecumenical Movements within the Christian Church.

2. To act as a distributing center of all available literature in the Ecumenical Movement and generally to increase the contacts of New Zealand with Church thought and action in other countries.
3. To promote co-operation and the study of existing differences in such a spirit that the underlying unity may become clearer.
4. To facilitate common action by the Churches within the Dominion of New Zealand on all matters where there is agreement or the possibility of agreement.
5. To arrange Commissions as may be necessary, to study and to report to the Council on matters coming under the headings of "Faith and Order" and "Life and Work."
6. To call national conferences on specific subjects as occasion may require.

Since its inception, two more Church bodies have joined the National Council, which now comprises eight denominations. Together they make up more than ninety per cent of the non-Roman Church people of the Dominion, the Roman Catholics numbering some fifteen per cent of the whole population. The co-operating bodies are:

The Church of the Province of New Zealand (commonly called the Church of England)

The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand

The Methodist Church of New Zealand

The Baptist Union of New Zealand

The Associated Churches of Christ in New Zealand

The Congregational Union of New Zealand

The Society of Friends

The Salvation Army

Recently, the Greek Orthodox Church has applied for membership.

The first step taken by the N.C.C. was to set up a commission to organize a Campaign for Christian Order. It was felt that the Church in New Zealand must stir herself and proclaim her message in a more effective way in the crisis. Agreement was reached on the kind of message which each Church could proclaim with its own emphasis, but all speaking at the same time, together. After long and careful preparation of clergy and ministers, a three months' preaching and teaching campaign was conducted by the Churches; radio talks and religious brain-trusts were broadcast, special meetings held for business and industry, trade unions, educationalists, and wide contacts were made. Popular books were published on the various aspects of Christian Order, in national and international life, and many study groups, both for men and for women, were started.

During 1943, a series of Christian Order Weeks was held in a number of communities, there being effective co-operation between the participating Churches, and a fostering of the ecumenical spirit, so far as "Life and Work" were concerned.

Although it is difficult to measure the effect of the campaign, and it must be conceded that only a small proportion of the country was actively engaged in its work, yet it clearly made a definite impact on the thinking people in the community. Never before had all political parties been prepared to confer with representatives from the Churches before issuing their election programs. Certainly, as a result of the campaign, there was much closer understanding and confidence among the members of the Churches who took part; and it undoubtedly prepared the way for the holding of a National Conference on Christian Order.

In August, 1945, there gathered at Christ's College in Christ Church 200 delegates from the eight constituent bodies of the National Council to consider Christian Order in New Zealand.

This was the first time in our history that all the non-Roman Churches of the Dominion had met together in conference. They had not in mind any move toward organic union, still less did they attempt to set up "a kind of super Church of the non-Roman communions"; but together they did much to clarify the issues facing the Churches.

Five main questions were discussed by different panels: the presentation of the Evangel under present-day conditions; the future of the Maori people; Community, with particular reference to the South Pacific; Christian Order in the use of the Land, Industry, and Commerce; and Education. A great degree of fellowship was experienced, enriched by the presence of three United States chaplains with the Pacific Forces, and personalities from India and Australia. A report of the Conference describes "the sheer joy of fellowship, a deep sense of unity in diversity, a growing sense of the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and a wonderful measure of agreement."

One should not imagine that differences were obliterated; but those taking part in the Conference, despite differences of political affiliation, Church heritage, and temperamental character, were none the less like-minded people. They were all desirous of furthering the aims, as far as "Life and Work" activities were concerned, for which the N.C.C. had been founded. It was a significant fact that nearly all the delegates had at one time or another had previous connection with the Student Christian Movement. A strong Continuation Committee was set up and also an independent lay movement, known as the Christian Frontier, inspired by the similar movement in England.

The National Council of Churches has proved a valuable channel for approaches from the Churches to the Government and other bodies. For example, it has been able to act for the Churches in a recent inquiry into the question of the future

population of the Dominion. It has also concluded arrangements with the University of New Zealand (till now a strictly secular body) for the institution of Divinity Degrees of high standard. It was able to make a united approach from the Churches to the education authorities and teachers for fresh consideration of the place of religion in education.

In New Zealand there is an acute housing shortage; the major part of the building that is being carried out is in connection with Government Housing Settlements. The N.C.C. has been able to draw the Churches into conference for concerted co-operation and for placing before both Government and people the essential part that religion must play in the community life.

So far, the major emphasis and expression of the ecumenical spirit in New Zealand has been on "Life and Work." This is understandable in a country of relatively small population. New Zealanders are, for the most part, people of action rather than of thought. Now that a sufficient number of men and women of the different Communion have grown to know and trust each other, through the Campaign for Christian Order, Christian Order Weeks, and the Conference of Christchurch in 1945, the way is open for a move forward on the plane of Faith and Order. For some years, a small number of groups has been co-operating with the Study Department for the Faith and Order Movement, but careful preparation has been made this year for a National Conference on Faith and Order. Sixteen groups throughout the country, composed of Christians of differing outlook, are, for the first time, examining together the doctrines of the Church, the ministry, and the sacraments. The results of the work of these groups are likely to be brought together with the results of similar work on the material of the World Council Study Department on "The Order of God and the

present Disorder of Man," in a Faith and Order Conference in 1948.

Much impetus has been given to the ecumenical work of the country by the Women's Section of the N.C.C. Increasing numbers of women's groups study a series of papers produced for the past four years, on subjects ranging from Christian homemaking, Christian upbringing of children, to Christian Order in the Country and World Order.

Among the native people, a number of Churches have established Maori Synods. An inter-Church committee is seeing through the Press a new translation and edition of the Scriptures in Maori. Part of the Christchurch 1945 Conference findings were issued in the Maori language. Improvements and extensions have been made in educational facilities for the Maoris and in one city a much-needed Maori Girls' Hostel has been established. The N.C.C. has forwarded to the Churches for their approval a significant plan for the formation of a Maori section of the N.C.C., which has been drawn up by the Maori leaders themselves. If this comes into effect, it should do much toward restoring the Christian faith as a unifying force in the rising national consciousness of the Maori people.

The N.C.C. Youth Work Committee coordinates the work of the Churches among the young. Regional Youth Committees are now established, and every year the leaders of the youth work in the various Churches meet for common counsel and coordination. Youth Centers are planned but building restrictions will retard these for some time. The training of youth leaders is a concern, and a syllabus is being planned for all the Churches for a Diploma in Youth Leadership. One center is experimenting with a School for Marriage.

In the sphere of education, conferences have been held between the teachers and the Churches, with a view to furthering the practice and quality of religious instruction in State schools,

which are essentially secular. The N.C.C. has already had a Commission on Religious Education, and is in process of establishing a department for the care of this aspect of co-operation.

Further ecumenical developments include the work of the National Missionary Council in New Zealand. The Council was formed in 1927, and includes the missionary agencies of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, London Missionary Society (mainly Congregational), Churches of Christ, The Leper Mission, The British and Foreign Bible Society, the Y.W.C.A., The Student Christian Movement, The Nurses' Christian Union, and the Sudan United Mission. It acts as a link with the International Missionary Council, and other similar bodies; with the National Missionary Council of Australia it acts as a Christian Council of the South Pacific.

Since the beginning of 1946, its work has been more closely linked with that of the N.C.C. in that the work of both Councils is now undertaken in the one office, and is coordinated by a single secretary.

In March, 1948, it is hoped that there will be held in Sydney, with the National Missionary Council of Australia, a preliminary conference of leaders from the Mission Fields of the South Pacific with their Home Boards, to be followed by a full-scale conference in 1950. In preparation for this, nine commissions are preparing reports on the various aspects of the work in the South Pacific, including Native Culture in the Christian Church, Women's Work, Church Community and State in the South Pacific, Education, Hospital Work, Economic Welfare, the Indigenous Church, and Literature.

In work beyond New Zealand, the individual Churches have received increased support for missionary work, and heavy budgets for rehabilitation of Missions in war-torn areas have been met. The Churches have collected \$25,321 for orphaned missions. The Presbyterian Church has provided a

large sum for the erection of a Church Hut in Holland and the training of young Germans for the work of the Christian ministry in Germany.

A close link has been forged with the body which provides voluntary relief services in Greece and China. More recently, the N.C.C. has initiated an appeal in support of the World Council of Churches' Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid for rehabilitation of Church life in devastated countries.

The Council is anxious to foster fellowship with ecumenical activities in other countries, and is in constant correspondence with many countries. It was the existence of the N.C.C. which enabled a New Zealand delegate to be sent to the Princeton Conference on World Order in 1943. The interchange of visits, however, is difficult, owing to the extreme distance and problems of transport, which are likely to continue.

In the matter of publication and distribution of literature, there has been restriction during the war years, due to shortages of paper and of shipping. The majority of religious books are imported. One Church has its own publishing firm, and several Churches have their own religious bookshops. The Student Christian Movement Bookroom has performed a great service to the intellectual life of the Churches. Some religious books, however, are printed in New Zealand, but these are mainly reports of Conferences, studies, popular booklets and pamphlets. Recent local publications include several biographies of Churchmen, and a treatise on Church architecture. The National Council of Churches circulates a monthly bulletin, *Church and Community*. Relative to population, the *Christian News Letter* has had a higher circulation than in most countries. The British and Foreign Bible Society has been able to maintain its work without diminution owing to farsighted policy of building up of stocks just prior to the war.

In the matter of leadership, there are signs of a growing desire on the part of laymen to take a more active part in the work of the Churches. Men's Fellowships and Groups throughout the individual denominations are moving in this direction. Among the age group of men under thirty, a significant piece of work was done in connection with leadership, in the New Zealand Army in Italy. For these men, a School of Christian Leadership was established in the New Zealand Division as soon as hostilities ceased. Courses were held, attended by officers and other ranks, selected from each regiment as likely Christian leaders. A team of chaplains of different denominations, working in co-operation, gave lectures on the Christian faith and its application, as well as on the Ecumenical Movement. The courses were widely appreciated, and met a real need, but they revealed a pressing need at home for some such instruction in lay leadership.

Conferences of chaplains, held since their return from service overseas, where they had been in closest touch with an important cross-section of New Zealand's manhood, showed agreement that "New Zealanders are basically friendly to Christianity." "There is more Christianity in the community than we allow for."

But when all these activities have been considered, the question may properly be asked, to what extent have they made an impact on the Christian life in New Zealand as a whole? It must be confessed that many people have no knowledge of, or interest in, the Ecumenical Movement; that the work so far done has as yet made impact only on a section of the Christian Churches. But it is too soon to evaluate the results of the foundation which has been laid. By and large, there is a growing spirit of unity, and of responsibility before God for national issues. New Zealand is an island; (it takes nearly as long to get by sea to our nearest neighbor, Australia, as it takes

to get from America to Britain). Because of our geographical isolation, it is all too easy for our people to remain insular in outlook.

We have freedom and religious liberty; but, for too many, freedom of worship is likely to mean freedom not to worship at all. And yet, as a keen critic, M. E. Holcroft, has said of us: "In a materialistic environment there is a deep and unappeased hunger for spiritual experience."

Our materialistic environment inclines us to lay emphasis on "Life and Work." If the Ecumenical Movement is to make progress here in the future, our fundamental need is study of Faith and Order.

SOUTH AFRICA

THE EUROPEAN CHURCH

Stanley G. Pitts

THE EUROPEAN section of the Church in South Africa, like most things South African, is not to be understood apart from the history and geographical position of the country.

From the history of conflict and of living together of Boer and Briton, from which, on the political side, a South African nation is slowly being evolved, the country has inherited its two main streams of religious life—those of the Afrikaans and of the English-speaking communities. The religious life of the Afrikaans people has always been virile and remains so today. The great strength of the Dutch Reformed Church is due in no small part to the fact that that Church may be identified to a great extent with the national life of the Afrikaans people, who number some one and a quarter million of the Union's white population of two and a quarter million. In the preservation, the use, and the development of their own language, and in the constant endeavor to safeguard and build up their own culture, the Dutch Reformed Church plays an enormous part. The influence of her ministers in most aspects of the life of her people, especially in the country towns and villages, is far in excess of the influence exercised by the clergy among the English-speaking people. Theologically, the position of the

Church is Calvinist, and fundamentalist in the attitude adopted to Scripture.

Within the English-speaking community all the main English Churches are to be found, together with several of American origin. The largest, the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican), is Anglo-Catholic in standpoint, while of the Free Churches the Methodist Church far outstrips the others in size.

All the Churches have their own mission work among the native peoples, conducted sometimes as an integral part of the one church, sometimes through separately established mission churches, and all have, in addition, work among the colored people (including Asiatics) who in the Union number some million and a quarter.

The link connecting the mission churches is to be found in regional missionary councils, and between these and the European Churches (with the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church, which, because of its different policy with respect to the non-European, does not officially collaborate, though some of its more liberal members give their support) in the Christian Council of South Africa.

South Africa is only now beginning to appreciate the force of the Ecumenical Movement, and the fact that it is called upon to play its own particular part therein. Separated from Europe and America by thousands of miles, the influence of events in the Christian world overseas has not hitherto been felt with any real force in this country. There is, at the time of writing, a traveling secretary of the Students' Christian Association of this country studying at the World Council of Churches' Ecumenical Institute at Geneva, and her comment by letter that she was "so appalled to discover the isolation in which we live in our Churches in South Africa" is a fair reflection of the conditions which have prevailed in South Africa up till now.

But the effect of the extensive travel undertaken by soldiers on service during the Second World War, the ever-increasing travel facilities which, as well as taking South Africans abroad, are bringing a far greater number of visitors to this country, and the interest in the South African scene being shown by the United Nations and the world at large, is being felt in the religious sphere also. One of the important tasks which the Christian Council of South Africa is undertaking at present is the insuring that news of events in the newly discovered World Christendom is brought to the attention of Christian men and women in this land. These things, and the attendance of South African delegates at the many overseas conferences being held at present in the Christian world, will, one may confidently anticipate, bring to the Christian Church in South Africa a new consciousness of the oneness of the World Church of which it is part.

Mainly by reason of the distance separating South Africa from Europe, this country has escaped much of the effect of the war to be found elsewhere. But something of the radical spirit that a war, waged for the existence of one's own way of life creates, is to be found in the religious life of this country also. It is evidenced, for example, in a Diocesan Commission set up "to define what it believed to be the mind of Christ for this land," and whose report embodies a "Statement of Christian Principles"—fundamentals which the Commission felt necessary to have clear in the minds of Christian people before any attempt could be made to understand "the mind of Christ for this land." It is found again in a "Post-War Development Commission" set up by another Church whose terms of reference were

- "(a) to consider the immediate responsibility and duty of the Church in regard to post-war conditions and opportunities;

- “(b) to consider the present organization, activities, and methods of the Church and their relation to the spiritual, social, and economic needs of the people of all races in this land;
- “(c) to prepare a plan of action which could be put into immediate operation under the direction of the President of the Conference.”

A new importance is being attached these days, no doubt as a result of the war, to work among men and youth by means of clubs and leagues and Youth Centers catering to varied interests. Special attention is also being directed to evangelism, though an effective plan on any large scale has yet to be formulated. The position in this direction is well reflected in some words of the Archbishop of Cape Town in what he called ‘Prolegomena to Evangelism,’ “The thing that bothers me greatly,” he said, “is that some at any rate of the concern about Evangelism appears not yet to have probed to the depths either the immensity of the gulf between professing Christians and members of society professing no religion, or the difficulty of so presenting the Gospel as to make any impression on the world to-day.” But the consciousness of the need of such a presentation is unquestionably there and demanding expression.

It is not only thought that is called for, however, but leadership, also. It can probably be stated with truth that at the present moment this is the great need of the Church in South Africa—positive leadership. We have laymen prominent in the life of the nation who are known for their Christian principles and who are a source of inspiration. But both in the ranks of the clergy and in those of the laity, there is a crying need for strong, positive, fearless leadership. In this, however, South Africa would appear not to be alone.

The South African Church is in the peculiar position of having the “Home Church”—i.e., the European Church—set

in the midst of its own mission field and in close relationship with an increasingly self-conscious African Church. In most of the Churches of this country, there is a proclaimed conviction of the equality of the African and colored person with the European in the sight of God. Thus the Head of one of the largest churches in the country stated recently that "there is no Christian justification for the Color Bar," and another church recently appointed a colored man as its chairman. Worshiping together is common in most Churches, though because of differences in language and areas of residence each race tends to have its own church buildings.

But while "equality in the sight of God" may be the proclaimed belief of most of the Churches, equality in the eyes of the State does not exist for the African people, who are at greatly varying stages of development, and their interests in government are committed to three European members of the House of Assembly elected in terms of the Representation of Natives Act of 1936.

It requires no great imagination, therefore, to appreciate the difficulties arising from this dual position in Church and State in which the European finds himself vis-a-vis the African—a position that is still further complicated by the different views taken even of the Christian position by the largest body of Christians in the land.

Suffice to say that, while much remains to be done in the education of public opinion on race relations, and in the education of the African for citizenship, progress is being made, and enormous strides forward have been taken in the last few years.

There is every reason to believe that among the English-speaking Churches the future will see an increasing degree of co-operation and, ultimately, reunion among certain of the Free Churches. Movements to this end have been on foot for

some time, and though to date no great progress can be recorded, the ground has been considerably cleared and there is a consciousness of the folly of remaining apart when the things that once divided have ceased to be relevant.

This feeling is being fostered also by the launching, in 1946, of an interdenominational newspaper for English-speaking Christians and good use is being made of it by all the Free Churches, with a consequent increase in mutual understanding and a greater articulation of the urge to unity.

Equally important is the commencement, in 1947, of a large measure of common training for the Anglican and Free Church ministry through the establishment of a Faculty of Divinity at Rhodes University College. This is the first venture of its kind among the English-speaking Churches and bodes well for a greater degree of co-operation and understanding in the future.

These things, together with the dawning ecumenical consciousness referred to above, are factors which may transform the situation in this country of differences and divisions. And though at the moment there is little sign of such progress in co-operation from the Dutch Reformed Church, the increasing industrialization of the country and the present tendency of Afrikaans-speaking people to flock to the cities may also, given time, bring with it the appreciation that our cause is one, and that it is as a united force alone that we shall be able to strike a blow at the widespread paganism and materialism of our day.

THE YOUNGER CHURCH

Edward W. Grant

THE STORY of the evangelization of the native races of South Africa is well into its second century. Almost from the first, the response of the African to the Gospel was quick and eager. Christianity has been a major influence in the transformation of life and thought. In the minds of many, our faith has, unhappily, been identified with western civilization. The fruits of the second are often confused with those of the first, as the two have marched together through the land. Nevertheless, the African has absorbed much that is vital in the Christian faith, and its results have become abundantly evident.

This brief survey of the indigenous Church in South Africa falls into three divisions: Extent and character, problems, and future.

Recent figures show 800,000 communicants in African Churches out of a total African population of 7,735,809. In addition, there are a vast number of adherents, influenced by Christian teaching, whose life is molded more or less on the Christian pattern. The African population has mightily increased during the past century. It is indicative of the general state of affairs that in one of the largest of the missionary churches the African membership has doubled in twenty-five years, whereas, in the same period, the African population of the country has increased by forty per cent.

Nevertheless, there remain in the native territories large islands of heathenism.

Some missionary societies have bestowed upon the body of their African membership the status of self-governing churches. There is still ground for discussion as to whether, in some cases,

this step was wise, or whether it was premature. Other societies have retained the close organic unity between the African Church and the older missionary Church. It is generally, but not universally, recognized that the younger Church still needs the guidance and help of the parent Church. In both cases, the policy has been vigorously pursued of training African ministers and evangelists for the active prosecution of the task of evangelization.

The growth of the African Church represents a remarkable achievement. It is due only partly to the increase of missionary agents during the last century from less than a hundred to the present total of two thousand five hundred. The main cause of this extraordinary development is undoubtedly the devoted work of a great mass of African Christians who have shared with their fellows the saving truth which has come to them. In addition to the Word proclaimed and taught, there has been the witness of saintly characters and of Christian homes with its profound influence upon surrounding non-Christian populations.

Much of the life of the typical African Christian centers in his Church. In its work and progress his interest is absorbed. It provides him with a sphere in which his most characteristic gifts can be exercised. "Zeal" is perhaps the word which most accurately portrays the character of his Christian service. In his religion there is a strong emotional note. The typical African preacher proclaims his faith with infectious fervor. The ethical obligations of that faith are not always clearly recognized. Nevertheless, the foundations have been laid for a Church into whose building will go much that is beautiful and strong, in devotion, in warmhearted love, in marked self-sacrifice. Among African Christians, the fruits of the Spirit are often found. Many and widespread are the factors which bring encouragement and hope.

In the political sphere, the attitude of the European legislator often determines the view which the African holds of the European missionary. There is no doubt whatever that political restrictions based on color are a rock of offense in the path of African evangelization. Reaction is quick and decided, and a crowd of agitators is prepared to identify the white man's government with the white man's religion. In the circumstances, the unswerving loyalty to Christian faith and practice of the main body of African Christians is remarkable.

In the realm of economics, various disabilities are suffered by the African because he is an African. For him, doors are slammed across almost every path of economic betterment, and the inevitable repercussions follow. Here it must be stated that a most marked improvement in European public opinion on these matters has taken place in recent years. It is the reactionary elements which are noisy and get the headlines as they close their ranks against the steady growth of liberal opinion.

Within African life, there is a steady pull of the old ways. Old superstitions die hard. The grip of age-long customs is not lightly relaxed. The ethical standards of the Christian Way of Life are not easily and quickly reached. The path followed by a convert from the old heathenism is both narrow and thorny. Inconsistency between faith and practice is not at once clearly perceived. Customs not harmful in themselves may become subtle dangers because of their association with other customs of a degrading nature. There is no unanimity in missionary circles as to which customs merit wholesale condemnation, and which may be transformed by Christian usage.

There is also the growth of a new paganism, more subtle and more difficult to grapple with than the old. It is the dire result of the industrialization of people either not Christian at all, or only partly Christian. For the town and city dwellers,

the old tribal life, which imposed certain responsibilities and exacted certain duties, has passed, and nothing has taken its place. The old faith, such as it was, of the tribe is dead, and the new is not yet born. The last state of the industrialized non-Christian African is worse than the first.

There are thus many classes in African society which have replaced the old tribal unity. Each class, from the untouched heathen to the educated agnostic, calls for a different approach.

The Church itself must face its own problems. There is often a legalistic conception of religion. There are certain things which a Christian is expected to do and other things which he must avoid. These are the rules of the Church. The moral values attaching to them are not always clearly perceived.

There is evident a tendency to hive off, leading to the growth of an extraordinary number of strange sects. The development of this "separatist" movement has become a major problem. Such bodies are formed by those who are not found acceptable in the recognized Churches; by those who are seeking to avoid Church discipline; or by some who are stirred by personal ambition or influenced by strange interpretations of Scripture passages. In many cases, the reasons are racial and political. "Let the African save the African" is often the cry. With respect to these movements, a gathering of African Christian ministers some years ago declared: "In the ecclesiastical sphere, the African obtains the kind of freedom denied him in the political. We wish it could be more widely recognized that the Church brings to the African people their richest blessings, and that the Church's voice is most effectively heard when the followers of Jesus speak and act in unison. We, therefore, pray that a day of friendly co-operation among all the Churches in South Africa will soon appear."

A task of primary importance is the teaching and training of this vast and quickly growing Christian community. This is

a fundamental need if the magnificent possibilities of the Younger Church are to be realized. The zeal and fervor which are so typically African must never be destroyed; but to zeal must be added knowledge, and to fervent denunciation of evil, which is so widespread, must be added a positive and challenging proclamation of the new life and power which are in Christ.

Given this, there are ample grounds for encouragement. The great African Church which, despite disabilities in many spheres of life, continues to grow in influence and power, is largely a zealous, self-propagating Church. Many of its problems are due to the embarrassment caused by success.

The education of the African is largely in the hands of the Church, with growing financial aid from the government. The challenge of this unique opportunity demands the best that can be given.

Growing contacts with right-minded European Christians are having a marked influence in the development of the African Church. We do not lose sight of the missionary ideal of a self-governing indigenous church. But many of us, on both sides of the color line, feel that in a land where black and white must learn to live together, a racial Christian Church will only emphasize differences and will be more racial than Christian. A way must be found whereby the African Christian will be enabled to exercise his gifts and make his full contribution within the borders of an all-embracing Church which is fully interracial. The growth of such a Church would do more than any other single factor to heal racial divisions in South Africa. Furthermore, as movements in some of the larger churches reveal, it is an ideal not beyond the bounds of possibility.

The Christian Church in South Africa must prosecute unceasingly its task of building and strengthening bridges between the races. The African Church must develop its unique powers of evangelization with a deepening regard for Christian moral

standards and must tirelessly pursue the work of teaching and training its converts. The spirit of exclusive denominationalism must not be allowed to entrench itself within the Younger Church. Earnest care with respect to these and allied measures will insure that this vigorous branch of the Christian Body will accomplish for its Lord that particular task in His Kingdom which it alone can achieve.

III

THE ORTHODOX EAST

I

RUSSIA

N. S. Timasheff

AT THE outbreak of the war, the Russian Orthodox Church, which unites the large majority of Russian Christians, was a body of dubious legal status, overt membership in which was a social handicap. The Church, like any religious body within the Soviet Union, was deprived of the right to proselytize or even to teach the principles of religion to children. No officially recognized system of training priests existed. The Bible and the Prayer Books could not be reprinted.

The Church was opposed by a government-sponsored League of Militant Atheists, which displayed feverish propaganda activity, publishing journals, pamphlets, and books, organizing frequent lectures, and demonstrating its ideas to visitors in antireligious museums, excursions to which were organized by schools and labor unions. In schools, the teachers were ordered to miss no opportunity to demonstrate the futile, nay, harmful, character of religion and its negative role in the socialist reconstruction of Russia.

The opposition between the officially atheist State, which stood behind the League, and the Church, was manifest, though no longer so sharp as it had been a few years earlier. It is true that in 1937-38 many clergymen and active laymen were tried for alleged espionage, wreckage, counter-revolution, and so forth, found guilty, and executed or sentenced to long terms in concentration camps. Thousands of churches were closed

in addition to those closed in 1929-30. But early in 1939 the tide turned. Trials of "religionists" stopped, the closing of churches was discontinued, antireligious propaganda was toned down. The change in the religious policy of the Soviet government took place in anticipation of the coming war. The government realized that the believers of Russia—and it knew that they were more than half of her adult population—were embittered by persecution and that, in the course of war, they might welcome an invader who came with the slogan of liberating them from the yoke of antireligion.

War was then to be the supreme test of the distribution of forces in Soviet Russia. Was religion, as asserted by the Soviet leaders, inevitably a counter-revolutionary force eager to join any enemy of Russia's new order? Or was religion, as asserted by the Church leaders, especially by Acting Patriarch Sergius, an essentially spiritual force, opposed to the materialist doctrine of Communism, but not necessarily to the new order, and eager to assist the nation in days of calamity such as invasion? From the very first days of the war, Sergius did all in his power to prove the sincerity of his patriotic position and his ability to inculcate it into the minds of the believers. He was fully successful. The Church really became one of the mightiest centers of resistance to invasion and, on many occasions, rendered the nation and, indirectly, the government, invaluable services. The facts were so conclusive that the Soviet leaders had to acknowledge that the Church was what its leader said it to be, not what the Soviet leaders thought it. The policy inaugurated in 1939 was accentuated and accelerated and, as the result, the Church emerged from the war in a status entirely different from that of 1939.

Today, the Church, in its national, diocesan, and parish organizations, is a legally recognized body endowed with the rights of corporate personality (decree of August 14, 1945).

By September, 1943, the election of a Patriarch, which had been prohibited since the death of Tikhon (1925), was permitted and, naturally, Sergius was elected. When he died (May, 1944), an exchange of friendly letters between the *locum tenens* and the government followed, and in January-February, 1945, a National Council convened in Moscow, attended not only by the forty-odd Russian bishops and representatives of the priesthood and laity, but also by four Oriental Patriarchs and representatives of four more Oriental Churches; that had never occurred since the seventeenth century. Once more, friendly words were exchanged between the Church and the government. Meanwhile, the Patriarch was invited to take possession of one of the most beautiful palaces of Moscow. Closed churches began to be reopened whenever a sufficient number of believers required. Two theological academies and ten seminaries now take care of the training of priests. The *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* appears monthly. The Bible and the Prayer Books can be reprinted. It has been officially stated that there is no longer any obstacle against teaching religion to groups of children; though neither in schools nor in church buildings is this permitted. The prohibition of ringing church bells was removed by the sweeping decree of August 14, 1945, which also ordered the local authorities to place at the disposal of the parishes building material for the repair of the churches, and implicitly recognized the existence of monasteries.

Moreover, the Russian Orthodox Church received territorial expansion. Not only all the Western dioceses severed in 1918-21, simultaneously with the contraction of Russia's boundaries, have been brought back under Moscow, but Eastern Galicia, Carpathorussia, and Northern Bukovina, acquired respectively from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, have increased the area spiritually depending on Moscow. In the newly acquired

lands, three and one-half million Uniats¹ have been separated from Rome and added to the Russian Orthodox Church (March, 1946). The majority of émigré Churches—that of North America forming the main exception—have recognized Moscow's supremacy. The same was done by the small Orthodox Church of Czechoslovakia. The only loss, and this a voluntary one, has been that of Georgia, whose Church was granted autocephaly (self-government) in December, 1943, to make up for its forcible annexation early in the nineteenth century.

What happened, however, to the Church's main opponent, the League of Militant Atheists? Its dissolution never was reported, but if it continues to exist, then only in the state of anabiosis (suspended animation). Antireligious journals were discontinued in the beginning of the war. The antireligious museums were transformed into museums of the history of religion, or closed. No antireligious demonstrations or other performances are ever reported from Russia. Nobody was announced to have succeeded the League's deceased president, Yaroslavsky. Nevertheless, books and pamphlets popularizing the Marxian philosophy continue appearing, and teaching in schools has not departed from the basically antireligious position. The Soviet leaders have not been converted to Christianity, though recently Vyshinski stated that now the Church was well integrated in Soviet society.

With the westward expansion of the Soviet boundaries, a problem has reappeared which had been so important in Tsarist Russia, that of interdenominational relations. Two new Soviet republics, Estonia and Latvia, are almost entirely Lutheran, and Lithuania is almost entirely Catholic; important Catholic minorities live in areas now known as Western Belo-

¹ A *Uniat* Church is an autonomous one with traditional liturgy but large autonomy. Editor.

Russia and Western Ukraine. Not much is known about the status of these groups, or about that of the Hebrews and Mohammedans. In general, changes in favor of the Orthodox Church have been extended to the other religious groups, except the Roman Catholics. However, as a reminiscence of the privileged position of the Orthodox Church in Tsarist Russia, the Soviet government has created a special body to deal with it, and another to deal with the other denominations. There is no obstacle against mutual efforts of conversion, although again an exception is made where the Catholics are concerned. The situation as it relates to the Catholics remains gloomy. Only one Catholic church is permitted to function east of the boundary of 1939, and considerable pressure was exerted on the Uniats to bring about the conversion of Catholics to Orthodoxy.

Until 1943, the Russian Orthodox Church was unable to communicate with Churches outside Russia. But, immediately after the election of Sergius, the Archbishop of York, of the Church of England, was invited to Moscow and attended the enthronement of the new Patriarch. In the Summer of 1945, Metropolitan Nicholas of Kiev reciprocated the visit to the Church of England. Whether this means that the Russian Orthodox Church is now able and willing to participate in the Ecumenical Movement is another question. But Patriarch Alexius (elected in 1945) and a number of Russian bishops visited various Orthodox Churches outside of Russia and have occasionally met dignitaries of other denominations. These movements were not only permitted, but even sponsored, by the government, which placed bombers at the disposal of bishops to secure their speedy transportation.

When one compares the religious situation of Russia before and after the war, one notices startling changes. The Churches have gained legal status, and nobody is any longer persecuted

for being a fervent believer. Many more churches are open than in 1939, and they are well attended, by old and young. A few cases have been reported of marriages of sons and daughters of dignitaries in church—which was out of the question a few years ago.

There is, however, also a dark side in the picture. First of all, the rôle of the laity in the administration of Church affairs has been substantially curbed. This appears from the study of the new parish statute confirmed by the Council of 1945 as compared with the statute enacted by the Council of 1917-18. Instead of the large and representative parish board envisaged by the latter, the new statute confines the board to three persons—the church warden, its deputy, and the treasurer.

Another unfavorable development must be seen in the explicit or implicit endorsement, by the Church, of the policies of the Soviet government, which, it must be emphasized, remains pledged to Marxian atheism. The Russian bishops deny that there ever was any religious persecution or infringement of religious liberty. In reality, they point only to the fact that divine service in churches never was prohibited. But this is obviously only part of religious liberty, and the rest was conspicuous by its absence! Moreover, the statement that there never was religious persecution is tantamount to the denial of the fact that, in the early years of the new régime, many bishops, priests, and laymen died for Christ, such as Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd. For a Church, such a position is unnatural and awkward. Then, through its quasi-alliance with the Soviet government, the Russian Orthodox Church was induced to participate in the violent anti-Vatican campaign conducted by the government.

It is true that antagonism to Rome is ingrained in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church. But in our day, when all Christians try to come close together and to minimize their

differences, an exacerbation of interdenominational feuds is especially unfortunate. Moreover, when it but serves the purposes of the Soviet government, the Russian Orthodox Church has time and again placed itself in an embarrassing position. Thus, for instance, after the termination of the National Council of 1945, a joint declaration was signed by Patriarch Alexius and representatives of seven Oriental Churches accusing the Vatican of the tendency to exonerate Nazi Germany from responsibility for war crimes and to invoke clemency for the Fascists who shed so much innocent blood. In a pastoral letter of the Russian Council, published a few days earlier, it was further explained that the invocation of mercy was utterly un-Christian (*Pravda*, February 7 and 10, 1945). The statements were in complete agreement with the then prevailing attitude of the Soviet government whose spokesman was Ehrenburg. But, a fortnight later, the government changed its mind and let Professor Alexandrov severely rebuke Ehrenburg for his bloodthirsty attitude! The Church was not mentioned, but if Ehrenburg was guilty, so was the Church, since it said exactly the same thing.

Equally embarrassing was the position of the Church in the unfortunate affair of the reunion of the Uniats. The reunion was initiated by Patriarch Alexius. But the letter of the Church assembly gathered in Lvov announcing the severance of ties with Rome was addressed, not to the head of the Church, but to the head of the State, thus divulging the purely political character of the whole movement.

The close connection of the Russian Orthodox Church with the Soviet government poses the problem of religious liberty in a very peculiar form. Today the believers not only Orthodox, but also other Christians (except Catholics) and non-Christians have not to fear that they will be jailed or deported for religious zeal, or that their churches will be closed, or that their religious

sentiment will be badly offended by officially supported blasphemy, or the like. They can give some religious instructions to their children, and get some religious books. Divine service in the churches is as splendid as ever it was. No change in dogma or rites has taken place, and no pressure in that direction was ever exerted by the government.

And still this is not religious liberty as understood in America. A theologian could not publish a book or pamphlet attacking materialism. A group of parents could not organize a school in which their children would receive education in the spirit of religion. A Church leader could not discuss the undesirability of strong opposition to Rome, still less of the close friendship between the Church and the government.

This is not religious liberty, but "religious tolerance," to use a term known in Tsarist Russia to designate the attitude of the State toward its non-Orthodox subjects. (By the way, the amount of this tolerance was remarkable for a state of Byzantine tradition, and so it is once more in the Soviet State of our day whose leaders owe allegiance to the intransigent Marxian creed so strongly opposed to religion).

Religious tolerance is, however, not only something short of religious liberty, but it is also more precarious. Religious liberty implies the right of the citizens to oppose any interference of the State authorities with their religious affairs. Religious tolerance is only an administrative practice of leaving believers alone. It is noteworthy that the majority of the changes in favor of religion were made without change in the law, though the decree of August 14, 1945, has implicitly modified one of the principles of the basic decree of January 20, 1918, on the separation of State and Church. But Article 124 of the Stalin Constitution (1936) granting the Soviet citizens the freedom of worship and freedom for antireligious (but not religious) propaganda has not been changed. Up to recently, this Article

was interpreted as prohibiting religious education and the publication of religious material. Now it is interpreted as permitting both. No legal obstacle exists, however, to the return of the practice to that which it had been up to the middle of the war.

Therefore, the tide might turn once more. Is it, however, probable that it will? To give a plausible reply to this question, one must realize that the shift from religious persecution to religious tolerance took place concurrently with the development of international affairs. It started as part of the preparation of the nation for war and was extended in the course of the war and directly after it concomitantly with the choice of a policy of opposition to the Western allies in the shaping of the post-war world. So long as this policy continues to make another war not entirely unlikely, it is highly improbable that the Soviet government will return to the policy of religious persecution, since in an eventual war it will once more need the unconditional support of the Church.

But what if the general trend of Soviet foreign policy changes and sincere co-operation with the Western allies begins? In that event, would the government not sever its friendship with the Church whose alliance would be then immaterial? But the return to hostility is improbable in this situation also. Friendly relations with Western nations would imply an at least partial recognition of their values, and the Soviet leaders know that religious persecution contributed more than anything else to the estrangement between them and the Western world.

This does not mean that the prospect of religion is absolutely bright. The government has not lost the hope of getting rid of the "obsolete institution," which it thinks the Church to be, by means of attrition, mainly through education of a few generations in the idea that "science explains everything,"

while religion is a valueless survival of the past when science was not yet sufficiently advanced. The Church will naturally oppose by all means available such a development, but its means are limited, and, though externally strong, the Church is internally weakened by its inability frankly and forcefully to discuss the opposition between its doctrine and official atheism. There is obviously no means of foreseeing the final outcome of the contest.

THE BALTIC LANDS

Sven Danell

THE THREE Baltic States, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, before the war had inhabitants numbering about five and one-half million, Esthonia and Latvia being mainly Evangelical-Lutheran, Lithuania, for the greater part, Roman Catholic.

The recent world war brought, first, Russian occupation of the three Baltic States, then invasion by the Germans, and, finally, reconquest by the Russians. During the first Russian occupation, which ceased in the Summer of 1941, in all three countries about 6500 persons were murdered and about 133,250 deported. All churches were nationalized and the parishes had to pay high rents for their use of buildings. The same applied to the parsonages. Not only the rents but also the rates for electric current were fixed at a particularly high fee for church buildings. As a matter of fact, the electric current for the churches amounted to fourteen times the usual rate, the rent charged seven to ten times higher than usual. Through a series of such increases, the financing of church life was rendered practically impossible.

These measures were directed equally against the Evangelical-Lutheran and the Roman Catholic Churches. Both had numerous martyrs. So far as the Orthodox Church is concerned, distinction should be made between those of its followers who ranged themselves under the Russian Orthodox

Church supremacy and those who refused to do so. The latter suffered persecution, the others did not.

The German occupation, starting in the Summer of 1941 in Lithuania, brought with it ejection of a large number of peasants from their farms and thereby new sufferings for people and Church in addition to those caused by the war itself. While persecution of Jews was quite as ruthless as within the German Reich, there was, however, no direct persecution of the Church. The Church property nationalized by the Soviets was not, however, restored by the Germans. When retreating westward, the Germans brought with them hundreds of thousands of Balts, some by force, others probably more or less voluntarily, due to the terror of Russian rule experienced during the preceding Soviet occupation.

The Second Russian occupation, starting in the Autumn of 1944, brought new deportations. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining authentic information, it has not been possible to establish any exact figures in this connection. At first, however, some information could be gathered from the Soviet-Baltic broadcasts. For instance, in the Autumn of 1945, about fifty per cent of the family names of the announcements in the news from Tallinn were of Russian origin, a town which, before the war, was almost entirely Esthonian. Subsequently, however, the Russians who were transferred to replace deported Balts adopted Baltic family names, receiving also citizenship in the Soviet-Baltic Republics. Postal communications with foreign countries are not prohibited, but it is feared that correspondence with foreigners might be considered by the authorities as discreditable. The following significant picture is given in a letter from Latvia: "The old are crying when the young are happy to go to Russia to build factories, etc. In their delight, the young take nothing with them on their journey."

Of the inhabitants of Esthonia, amounting before the war

to 1,100,000, there remain in the country, according to an approximate estimate, about 700,000. There are those, however, who consider this estimate as over-optimistic and calculate the remaining Esthonians at only half of the original population. The facts referred to concerning Esthonia probably may be assumed to fit also the case of Latvia and Lithuania.

In view of these events the Baltic Churches are now divided into three sections; viz.: (1) those deported to the east, about the Church life of whom, if any, no information can be procured; (2) those remaining in the Baltic countries, about whom only very scarce and in part unreliable information can be procured; (3) those removed to the west by force or by flight. This category is mainly to be found in western Germany, Sweden, and Denmark; smaller contingents are also in Belgium, France, Italy, England, and the United States of America.

Regarding *the Churches still remaining in the Baltic countries*, the special persecution of 1941 does not seem to have been resumed. But, of course, the clergy and Church people have had their very great part of the national suffering, in the form of deportations, arrests, executions, and other forms of suppression. All priests and preachers have to submit drafts of their sermons to be controlled by the authorities. The high rents from the previous Russian occupation have been reestablished and, consequently, again encumber churches and parsonages. Religious instruction is abolished in the schools, and, no doubt in Baltic areas as previously in Russia, all religious instruction in groups of citizens under eighteen years is forbidden, a "group" in this connection meaning more than three persons.

Evidently, the Baltic Church is working under very hard conditions. The number of evangelical priests active in *Esthonia* before the war amounted to about 150. Including the *emeriti*, their number was 221. Of those 221, during the first Russian

occupation, two were murdered, seventeen imprisoned, six deported to Russia; further, seven perished when fleeing, or by acts of war. According to the Soviet-Esthonian broadcasts, there are at present in Esthonia seventy-seven evangelical pastors. Knowing the number of pastors who have fled westward, it may be concluded that, during the last Russian occupation, forty-one priests disappeared under unknown conditions. Of the remaining seventy-seven, several must be aged. According to an unverified statement, there should now be active in Tallinn, having normally thirty evangelical pastors, only three clergymen. The small town Haapsalu has no evangelical pastor and only one orthodox priest. Before the war, the great majority in that town were Evangelicals. In one country parish, it is said that a postman preaches and gives instruction to those seeking confirmation. As a matter of fact, the laity often have had to take care of parish life. For instance, in a parish having no pastor, a member of the church council arranged sermons in the church with devout men from the villages as preachers.

Its bishop having fled to Sweden, the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Esthonia has a leader in Dean H. Pähn, who seems to have obtained some sort of endorsement by the authorities. Dean Pähn is described by his fellow-countrymen as a good Christian, free of all political commitments.

In *Latvia*, after the Evangelical Archbishop T. Grinbergs was removed by force by the Germans, Dean Karlis Irbe was appointed head of the church. Later, however, Dean Irbe was deported. The professor of theology, well known in Scandinavia, Rumba, has been reported dead while in prison. Whether after the deportation of Dean Irbe it has been possible to appoint some new head of the Church, we do not know. The situation seems to be practically the same as in Esthonia.

The same seems to apply to *Lithuania*, a country chiefly Roman-Catholic, from which detailed information is missing.

As to the religious life, it is reported that under the terrible events many have awakened to a spiritual life. On the other hand, the physical distress carries with it great moral dangers. Complete honesty often is a very hard thing to accomplish. Numerous outrages toward women and girls create sexual problems.

The Balts who fled westward are dispersed over several countries. In Sweden, there are about 30,000, in Denmark about 2,000, in Germany, according to the probably low U.N.R.R.A. estimate, about 200,000. Small contingents are also to be found in France, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Great Britain, the United States, and other American countries. Of the evangelical pastors, about forty are staying in Sweden and about 140 in the western zones of Germany. Most of these pastors are wage-earners and, therefore, not able to devote much time to pastoral work. The 1,700 Latvians in Denmark have as yet no pastor of their own nationality, but will probably soon get one from Sweden through the intermediary of the Danish Church.

In Sweden, previously fairly considerable contributions were made, out of the subscription called *Till Bröders Hjälp*, to support Church work among the Balts. The administrator of this fund, mainly intended for the European continent, also actively assisted in the attempts to prevent 157 Baltic prisoners of war, one-third consisting of young boys, from being surrendered to the Russians. Yet, this surrender took place in January, 1946. According to the Estonian Consul General in the United States, the surrendered Balts were publicly hanged.

The above-mentioned fund, *Till Bröders Hjälp*, has been the object of violent attacks from the same newspapers which at the time insisted upon the surrender of the Balts. Actually, certain deficiencies in the administration of the fund have been proved, but the public has unfairly been made to understand that embezzlement has taken place. In view of the pres-

sure of present circumstances, the Swedish Church has not been able to continue supporting the activities of the Baltic Church. However, a very appreciable help of non-recurrent nature has been given by the American Section of the Lutheran World Federation.

Though formerly eight Baltic pastors in Sweden were in a position to devote themselves to religious work among their fellow-countrymen, they now chiefly have to work as wage-earners. There are hopes of a new subscription, even if on a smaller scale, to support the work of the Baltic Church in Sweden. The leader of the Swedish section of the scattered Esthonian Church is Bishop Johan Köpp, and of the Latvian Church in Sweden, Dean Ö. Sakarnis.

In Germany, the Baltic diaspora is working energetically in spite of great difficulties. The Latvian Archbishop T. Grinbergs, in July, 1946, was able to summon a Latvian conference of pastors in Esslingen. No less than 114 pastors were able to respond to his call. Among the speakers were Professor Karl Heim from Tübingen and Dr. I. C. Michelfelder from the United States. Lectures were held on theological subjects. District pastors were appointed for different territories of the western occupation zone of Germany. While the Archbishop himself is the head of the Latvian Church in the American zone, Dean Edg. Bergs has been appointed Church leader in the British zone.

Especially on the continent, there is a great lack of religious literature in the Baltic languages. Thanks to the British and Foreign Bible Society, an edition of the New Testament has been printed in Sweden. Further, at the instance of the fund *Till Bröders Hjälp*, a small Esthonian hymn book has been published, and the World Council's Christian Reconstruction in Europe is now attending to the publication of a Latvian hymnal. Also, an Esthonian textbook for confirmands has been

printed. Through the initiative of the refugees themselves, religious periodicals are published. So far as possible, these printed works are distributed also among the Balts on the continent.

The work of the Roman Catholic Church among its members of Baltic nationality is of a more purposeful nature. Its clergy are to be found, to a considerable number, among the Lithuanians as well as the Latvians. As soon as the first Lithuanian refugees had arrived in Sweden, a Lithuanian Roman Catholic priest was given opportunity to devote himself entirely to clerical work among them. The Vatican, having consistently refused to approve the annexation by Soviet Russia of the Baltic states, has appointed a legate, Professor P. Laurinovics, for Esthonians and Latvians living as exiles in Austria and Germany.

On the whole, the spiritual life among the refugees is more active now than before their affliction. Persons who previously never attended church are now taking part in parish life. The reason, of course, in some cases, may be a desire to avail oneself of the rather scarce opportunities of meeting fellow-countrymen. But quite a few of them—not less so among the educated—during the years of misery have got a real contact with God. For these people, there is nothing stable in all the world: the future existence of their native country, the fate of near relations, their own individual futures. But some of them have found a solid ground at last: faith in a living and merciful God.

3

THE BALKANS

D. J. Shoukletovich

THE BALKAN Peninsula represents a unique problem in more than one way. Because of its strategic value, its geographic position, it has been a bone of contention, a battlefield oftener and longer than any similar territory in the world. East and West have met there and, as a direct result of that meeting, much has happened that has decidedly changed both the political and the geographic position of many a nation—indeed, of the whole of Europe.

Christianity—the predominant religion there—has, by necessity, had its own problems, sometimes too intricate to be solved independently solely as religious problems. In many cases, the religious questions have been so thoroughly interwoven with national and political problems of one or more Balkan nations that those problems have been adeptly and sometimes properly compared to kegs filled with gunpowder, ready to explode at the slightest and most insignificant provocation.

The greatest bloodshed in the struggle between Christianity on one side and Mohammedanism on the other has taken place in this southern tip of the European continent. It is small wonder that Balkan people have been looked upon in and by the civilized West as backward, uncivilized, not to use the brutal expression of semisavage tribes, that can never be subdued, or made to obey and live in peace. But—paradoxical as it may seem—these same ruthless yet freedom-loving people

have—many a time—even dethroned crowned heads, when and if these crowned sovereigns had given indication of endangering the people's independence, either purely political, or solely religious, or both.

For the sake of keeping the record straight, we must go back a little in the recent, if not distant, history of the Serbian people and Serbian Church to get a proper perspective of the present-day Church situation and its problems.

Ever since the time of St. Sava, the first Serbian prelate, in the thirteenth century, when the Serbian Church became autocephalic, Orthodoxy (Orthodox Christianity) has been the state religion of Serbs, through all six centuries that Serbia has existed as a nation and as a political state. The rulers of the Serbs, even those dating back to the ninth and tenth centuries—princes, kings, or emperors—were, as required by the laws of the land, members of the Orthodox Church, benefactors and protectors of the same. They have built beautiful church edifices in the cities, gorgeous monasteries in the country, and have endowed them all with much wealth and tremendous tracts of fertile land for cultivation, virgin forests and vast grazing fields for raising sheep and other livestock.

During the Turkish domination in the Balkans, churches were spared almost completely except for the spasmodic instances where some prominent member of the clergy had fallen in disfavor with Moslem rulers. That was during the more than five hundred years when Serbs lived in Serbia (though subjugated by Turks), when Serbianism and Orthodoxy were so thoroughly interlocked and interwoven that they were indistinguishably parts of each other.

But when Serbia was made to disappear with the inclusion of Serbs in one kingdom with Croats and Slovenes (after the First World War, on December 1st, 1918) Serbs had to give up some of their most cherished treasures as a sacrifice—the

price for the creation of a new political union and State. The former State religion of Orthodoxy now had to be satisfied with a place of parity and equality with Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Mohammedanism, and even with Judaism, whose total membership has been so negligibly trivial. All denominations had to be on the same footing, and enjoy the same rights and privileges. The king—sovereign of the new State, "The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," as it became known, was not any more "by the Grace of God and the will of the people" and by the law of the land a member of the Holy Orthodox Church; he was free to choose his religion, to believe whatever his majesty desired.

The centuries-old tradition was brought to an end in order to satisfy the new-comers in the newly created State—namely, Croats and Slovenes, as Roman Catholics, and other recognized minorities with their different denominations. The Orthodox Church suffered thereby an irreparable loss in prestige, in power, in wealth. That was the beginning of a new era where the magnanimity of the Orthodox hierarchy was put to a stern test. The rich monasteries, endowed with great grants of most fertile land, were now forced to give away the largest parts of their long-held property, to be divided by the State ministry among the newcomers as part of the national agrarian reform. A very inadequate evaluation of these lands was made, and the Yugoslav Government, through these agreements, owed the Serbian Church Patriarchate the amount of one billion, two hundred fifty million dinars, in round figures. The amount was to be paid in installments. But since that agreement was reached, shortly prior to World War II, a most negligible amount has been repaid the Church, and the bulk of over one billion, one hundred million dinars remains a debt owed by the Yugoslav Government to the Church.

The Second World War came. It came with a bang, as we

all know. Serbs found themselves again at war for the third time in less than thirty years (Turkish Balkan War 1912-1913; World War I 1914-1918, and the last World War). Again true to their traditions, Serbs fought with all they had on the side of the Allies. The sacrifices suffered now became terrific. Unfortunately, that cannot be said about Croats, who—as it is historically chronicled—created a new independent Croatia, under the leadership of one Ante Pavelich, thereby dissolving the unity of Yugoslavia as a State.

During the whole period of World War II, Serbian clergy—bishops, priests, and monks—suffered tremendously, hundreds of them dying as martyrs at their altars and on their sacred lands. With the end of World War II, the plight of the Serbian Church, instead of being relieved, has been further aggravated.

The rich monasteries have been in many cases demolished, either by bombardment or by arson; but all of the monasteries have been pillaged and most sacred and valuable treasures taken away. Monks have been either killed or taken to concentration camps, many of them to meet their Master there. Their land, whatever was left from the earlier agrarian division, has been taken away to be distributed among those who had been “fighting on the people’s front”—as Tito men say.

True, some of the churches have come out of the chaos intact or with negligible damage, and they are today open to the faithful for worship. And people do flock to these churches as never before. It is so evident that Church—the House of God—is the only hope of these people. But here are some of the sad facts: no help from the State whatsoever; no debt recognized by the State to the Church; no collections allowed to be received by clergy from people outside of the church building proper. No church is immune to attacks from ruffians. No peace is assured even during the services. For on many occasions and in many places these irresponsible persons—

evidently protected by authorities—come into churches during the hour of worship and create most unbecoming scenes, yelling: “Down with religion. Down with human opium. Long live Tito! Death to Fascism!” and similar most disturbing expressions.

No religious teaching is allowed in schools. No religious schools can carry on their work. No seminaries are allowed to prepare young candidates for the ministry. Evidently, the intention is to eradicate religion among the Serbian people. Hundreds of clergymen and teachers have been put to death in one way or another in every diocese of the land. Even at the present time, many of them are subjected to intolerable treatment if they show even the least desire or intention of giving children instruction (education) which is not in conformity with the now existing political philosophy in the land of Federated Yugoslavia. To summarize briefly:

1. The Serbian Church at the present time is in a most difficult position, much worse than under the five centuries of Turkish slavery. Not only is it not protected—as each religion should be in a free country—but actually it is persecuted; for it represents the backbone of the Serbian people's resistance to the sinister communist infiltration.
2. The real property and other wealth of the Serbian Church, which has been its rightful heritage for so many centuries, has been taken away without any compensation whatsoever, and with no likelihood that any will be made in the future.
3. Serbian children are denied any and all religious training; instead, they are very carefully and very efficiently indoctrinated with most loathsome ideas of communistic atheism.
4. Seminaries are forbidden to operate and, as a direct consequence, the present remaining clergy will in due time

diminish to dangerous proportions, with no prospect of amelioration in the near future.

Though next-door neighbors, Romanians have fared much better than their co-believers among the Serbs. According to reports in the press and letters from Romania, the religious situation in that country is favorable.

With the loss of Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and Southern Dobrudja, there was an influx of priests into the unoccupied zones. They were gradually absorbed into the existing parishes and doubled up in many instances, continuing to be paid by the State.

The Eastern Orthodox religion is the State religion, but all cults have complete religious freedom. The matters pertaining to the Church are handled by the Ministry of Cults (Religion). All denominations are supported by the State, as are their schools and other institutions. The Baptists and other denominations that have not been recognized for some time now have been given due recognition.

The present coalition government, made up of democratic parties and leftist organizations, has not interfered with religion at all. On the contrary, it is eager to be of service. The premier, Dr. Petru Groza, son of a priest and descended from a long line of priests, is himself a devout believer, having been a member of the Episcopal (Diocesan) Council for many years. He frequently takes part at the consecration of new churches, which are still being built. In a recent interview, he assured the press that there is complete religious freedom in Romania, and that he is a Church believer, knowing the meaning of the liturgy and the significance of the services of the Church. Reports so far do not contradict these assertions.

The clergy, therefore, are favorably disposed toward the government and, in the recent elections, helped it win an over-

whelming majority. The Patriarch of Romania, Nicodim Muntean, recently paid a visit to Moscow and seemingly was very well received. The Russians in Romania do not interfere in religious matters. Not one church has been closed, which seems unbelievable. Many hundreds of priests that were imprisoned for collaboration with the Germans were granted an outright amnesty, with the understanding that the Church should never mix up in politics. (Yet, the government did ask the Church's co-operation in getting elected to power!)

Everything seems to indicate so far that the Church is protected and even being encouraged in Romania. Whether the government does this from political expediency or from a deep conviction only time will tell. But one thing is pretty certain: everyone knows that the Church is so rooted in Romanian life that it would be folly to attack it. The influence of the Church is still very great, especially in the villages, where the majority of the people live. Briefly summarized: No Church problem of any appreciable proportions seems to exist in Romania at present. It seems that all elements have been willing to forget the evils of yesterday, and live only today. Only time will tell what the future holds.

Small mountainous Albania is a sore spot on the body of Southern Europe. With a population of about a million people in round figures, it has three dominant religious groups: Mohammedan, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox. The Eastern Orthodox is the smallest in number, and does not represent more than fifteen to eighteen per cent of the total population.

At the present time, there are two bishops of the Eastern Church there, one in Tirana and the other in Koritsa. But their action is limited by the policies of the present government, which is unfriendly toward the Church. The Church properties have been confiscated. Monasteries also have been deprived of

their real estate properties, and the Church organization has been made independent.

The teaching of religion in schools is forbidden by laws. The slogan is: "Let youth alone!" It seems that Church services are, if not totally forbidden, to a great extent regulated. For instance, on Sunday everyone is required to put in so many hours on work for the government, and then one can go—if one has any opportunity—to Church services.

The seminary which formerly was in Tirana is not operating, and there are no indications at present to show that any reopening is contemplated in the near future. The leftist group has seemingly full sway in all matters pertaining to the order of the land. Certainly, under those circumstances, no Church can carry on its work properly, let alone successfully. Their Archbishop, Christopher Kiss, who is now in Boston, does not recognize the existing "independent" Church in Albania. This fact contributes considerably toward the chaos now besetting the Church in Albania.

4

GREECE

H. S. Alivisatos

THE CHURCH of Greece has shared the fate of the Greek nation during the war, the occupation, and the post-war period of the great struggle for Peace.

Greece is one of the smallest and poorest of countries with the richest inheritance of history and tradition, both political and religious. Its geographical situation is at one of the most important crossroads of Europe. There the greatest acts of human drama have been repeatedly played for centuries, and the most contradictory streams of world politics meet and cross. This has forced the small Greek nation again and again into a very hard struggle for a better life and a peaceful future. In older times, it was Greece which had to resist Persian barbarism, saving the whole world through its own destruction. Greece's struggle against Mohammedanism was not different either in content or in results. During the last war, little Greece has not hesitated to oppose the mighty aggression, first of Italian Fascism, then of German Nazism. After world-famous victories against the first, Greece was crushed by the overwhelming powers of the second; and thus was delivered to its defeated enemy and the other satellites of Hitler's power, being forced into a threefold occupation. Its effective resistance against the aggressors obliged them to delay for at least six months their blitz-march plans toward Egypt and Russia. Thus time was given for due preparation of England's and Russia's powers,

which finally have saved the whole world from the dreadful cataclysm of Nazism and Fascism, which would have meant the end of the Christian world's civilization. But, for that resistance, Greece has been subject to full and complete destruction and now lies in ruins, both materially and spiritually. It is, of course, out of the question to deal in this article with Greece's present tragic position, struggling for peace and right. This historical political background, however, as well as a very short statement about general conditions in Greece, are absolutely necessary for the right understanding of the position of the Church at the present moment.

In spite of its smallness, Greece was trying very hard to meet the difficulties of life and to recover from the results of World War I, and especially from the great influx of 1,500,000 refugees from Asia Minor. Rather considerable progress was achieved, both in material and in spiritual life. In agriculture and industry, there was a very positive improvement assured, in trying to make the country as near as possible a self-supporting one. On the other hand, through the work of university, schools, and youth organizations, such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., quite a marked spiritual progress was evident.

Unfortunately, the war stopped this progress, and everyone was awaiting the happy end of the war for a better life. But the occupation came instead; a threefold occupation of Germans, Italians, and Bulgarians, which resulted in complete destruction, both material and spiritual, beyond any imagination. It was commensurate to the strong resistance shown by the people.

The liberation of the country was immediately followed by the civil war imposed by the leftists who completed the destruction of the country. The task of the successive Greek governments was to lead the country out of chaos, but the lack of means perpetuates even now the struggle to this end.

The political situation, in both exterior and interior affairs, was and is still very critical. The very modest claims of Greece are not met in the least satisfactorily, leaving the whole people very disappointed for the sacrifices offered in vain. The fierce political struggles of the parties have led, on the other hand, to great mistakes.

The food situation is very bad. Crops have been very good this year (1946), but Greece has never been a self-supporting country, and, after the withdrawal of UNRRA from Greece, the problem of the revictualling of the population will be a very serious one. The clothing question is also a very difficult problem, just because there is not sufficient industrial production, and goods are coming from abroad in very small and inadequate quantities.

Both these problems, as well as the reconstruction of hospitals and the elementary improvement of agriculture and industry, were met rather effectively, first by UNRRA, with the co-operation of the Greek State and Church authorities, and then by the Greek War Relief Association through a wonderful parcel service and other financial assistance to individuals and institutions from the Greeks of America. It is worth while mentioning here that the Greek War Relief Association really saved the Greek population during the occupation period by sending, regularly, wheat for the absolutely necessary bread, and other food and clothing for the starving population. All this has helped, so that the calories, which according to the official rations were about 800 (!) per person during the occupation, are now up to the number of 1,300, which, though still insufficient, means a great improvement in the situation.

Parallel to these organizations, several others, such as the Red Cross and the Churches, especially American and Swiss, have helped and are still helping a good deal during the critical period of the revictualling of the Greek people. It is

quite evident that bad feeding and insufficient clothing have resulted, particularly amongst the young, in a great increase of illnesses, especially tuberculosis. These cannot be adequately fought for lack of means, and thus they create a great danger for the future health of the Greek people.

Communication and housing problems are not less serious nor less important for the undisturbed life of the people. The enemy destroyed every road, every bridge, every bit of railroad material and the destruction in houses and buildings and extermination of whole towns and villages have created, all over Greece, a terrible problem of housing and of new refugees.

Trade cannot really be reopened without considerable financial support from outside. The whole financial situation is desperate and without constant and adequate help for at least a short period, no solution of the acute problems of food, clothing, communication, agriculture, and commerce will be possible. Needless to say that, for the reestablishment of the spiritual life, financial support is also seriously needed, because every bit of technical educational material has been destroyed. On the other hand, the lack of private financial means creates great obstacles for young people desiring to study for the ministry.

On the whole, this very awkward situation creates a very unfavorable background for the work of the Church, both for now and for the future.

Just before the war, the Church of Greece was in a process of reorganization. This Church is one of the independent autocephalous Churches which form the Federation of the Orthodox Church. At the head of its administration is the Holy Synod (of all its bishops) presided over by the Archbishop of Athens. It is divided into sixty-five dioceses, each one of them divided again into a considerable number of parishes, consisting of forty-five to 500, or even 1,000 and 3,000 families. The

Church administration is based on the orthodox canon law and the ecclesiastical laws of the State, the Church being established similarly as the Church of England. The interference of the State, especially during the dictatorship, has created some disorder in Church affairs. Care was, though, taken that the relations between the Church and the State would be satisfactorily arranged for both sides. The result of this has been that the State has recently undertaken the financial support of the clergy, after the almost complete disappearance of the Church property, previously sufficient for its maintenance.

Before the war, the educational level of the clergy was constantly rising. A new theological school was created at the University of Salonika, and several secondary Church seminaries. The great tasks to be met through this educational effort is to provide the Church with new leadership, adequate to meet the new spiritual and social problems at present times.

The lay element, as always, takes quite a considerable part in Church life. Several individuals are very active in preaching and in educational work, in publishing ecclesiastical and religious periodicals, and also very active in the administrative work of the Church.

Religious life, before the war, was constantly improving. Apart from worship, which is an essential part of that life, evangelism, both in the form of preaching and religious instruction, showed important progress. Nowadays, all university-trained priests preach in the services, and the others read well-prepared sermons published in advance for the use of the service in a special magazine called *The Pulpit*. Most of the dioceses publish their own magazines, devoted entirely to evangelism, apart from the ecclesiastical periodicals published by the several religious organizations. A rather remarkable improvement in Church life was and is the organization of the Sunday, or rather catechetical, schools, which complement the

religious instruction given in the public schools by special theological teachers. Increasing, also, was the welfare work of the Church by the creation of new, or help to already existing, hospitals, orphan asylums, and all sorts of philanthropic institutions. The administration of the inner mission work is very promisingly organized for full extension of the welfare and teaching work of the Church. It has undertaken to publish several religious books of a simple popularized form, as for instance a very practical book of apologetics written by a layman and well distributed by the inner mission service. Other publications have to be postponed on account of existing printing difficulties.

In regard to the distribution of the Bible, nothing serious was done during the occupation period, all stocks having been exhausted. Since the liberation, however, due to the generosity of the American Bible Society, thousands of New York texts have been distributed, apart from the free distributions of the Bible made through the Bible Society Agency in Athens.

The progressive work of the Church was interrupted by war activities. All available means were at once mobilized by the Church (1) for providing adequate army chaplains for the fighting Greek forces against the Italians on the Albanian mountains, and (2) for taking both spiritual and material care of the non-fighting population, also mobilized, in a sense, and suffering from the attack on the unguarded towns and villages. The whole nation was unanimous in backing the fighting army, giving a deep religious meaning to the struggle against the unjust aggressor. It was really very touching to see the places of worship every day full of people (even some formerly religiously indifferent) praying for the righteous cause of Greece and demonstrating a firm conviction of God's righteousness. The victorious results of the hard fighting against the Italians had reinforced and stimulated this religious conviction,

which the Church rightly used as a good basis of a permanent evangelization. In addition, there was developed and organized a wonderful relief work for the families of the fighting soldiers with the most excellent and unexpected results in the expressed Christian solidarity, under the guidance of the Church.

The war activities soon came to an end after the German aggression. Germany's overwhelming power had crushed Greece and enslaved the country. From the very beginning, in its anxiety and perplexity, the oppressed people had turned to the Church, because it was the only body and organization to which full confidence could be given. No one would trust, of course, the Quisling governments, instruments of the Germans. No one else was there to sympathize with the unthinkable difficulties and the impossible situation forced on the people through famine, sickness, robbery, murder, extermination of towns and villages, total destruction of agricultural, commercial, and industrial life, cumulative efforts to demoralize the people as much as possible, especially youth. What else could be looked upon as, if not a saving, then at least a comforting power, except the Church? Not that the Church was not itself controlled and persecuted, but for the prestige it had, which the aggressors took under some consideration. The Church, headed by the Archbishop Damaskinos, from the very first moment kept a never-resting vigilant eye on the tormented and suffering population. He himself and his staff were indefatigable in preaching, issuing encouraging encyclical letters; intervening courageously with the authorities to defend and save the Gestapo's victims from immediate execution, using every possible means to help the starving people, and trying their utmost to protect the people, especially the young, from the satanic efforts at demoralization. As an example of these efforts may be mentioned (a) the famous sermon of the Archbishop on the occasion of the consecration of a bishop on the

8th of March, 1942, as well as his encyclical letters of the years 1941—1945, which have been characterized, and rightly so, as aggressive (some of these were even seized and were forbidden to be circulated or read in the churches); and (b) the welfare organization *E.O.X.A.* (National Organization of Christian Solidarity) of the Archbishop which really saved a large number of the population from certain death from starvation, exposure, and illness. In spite of the existing appalling difficulties of communication, *E.O.X.A.* was admirably well organized all over the country through the several local bishops, and by them through the parishes—as long as they were not prevented by the aggressors—and very successfully met the situation. The same organization undertook, through secret teaching and spiritual guidance, the encouragement of youth against the efforts at demoralization.

The Church, through the Archbishop who became the Regent of Greece, undertook the heavy task of leading the country out of the political chaos, without neglecting his ecclesiastical obligations. Now the Church faces the following most acute problems: the reorganization of the Church Administration, education of the clergy, evangelism, organization of the social and welfare work of the Church, education of the youth, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the destroyed and dispersed Church property, development of friendly relations with foreign Churches, and the achievement of close co-operation with the World Council of Churches.

Just recently, for the first time after the war, the great Synod of the Bishops met to consider the whole Church situation. After the expression of its deepest appreciation to the Archbishop for his activities during the whole period of the occupation and thereafter, the following decisions were taken: 1. In regard to the existing relations of the Church with the State, it was decided that the Church will request the State

that no new Church laws or amendments of old ones will be promulgated without the knowledge and the consent of the Church. Church laws proposed by the Church should be accepted or rejected by the parliament, but not amended without the knowledge and the consent of the Church.

2. For meeting great social needs, the above-mentioned organization of *E.O.X.A.* ought to be reorganized (with the local bishops as agents) for the whole philanthropic and social work and endeavor of the Church.

3. To fill great gaps in the recruiting of clergymen during the occupation, it was decided that for the time being a lower standard of training for clergymen would be tolerated, but that a greater number of Church seminaries should be created. The number of the parish priests needed for the whole Church of Greece is 6,500 to 7,000.

4. For the religious education of the youth, special care is taken for the periods before attendance at school, during same, and outside of the school and parallel to its work. The reorganization both of the catechetical schools and of the inner mission organization is to take place soon. The Church encourages strongly the Youth movements, as represented by the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A., and the Zoe movement, as also other youth organizations. In regard to the first, for instance, the Archbishop himself, even in his capacity as Regent of Greece, inaugurated the reestablishment of the Y.M.C.A. after the war and has accentuated the great significance for the future of the nation of the Christian education of youth. Similar co-operation by the Church, through the several bishops and parish priests, is shown to other youth movements led by laymen and working on the basis of Christian moral education of youth. In the same way, good co-operation by the Church exists in regard to several women's organizations working along these lines.

5. Special committees are charged with the care of the restoration and reconstruction of Church property.
6. Special enlightening efforts were decided upon for those few who insist on using the old calendar, creating some disorder in the body of the Church.
7. A long pastoral encyclical letter was issued on the 15th of August, 1946, by the Synod, signed by the Archbishop of Athens, Damaskinos, and forty-three bishops, addressed to the clergy and the laity of the Church of Greece. After a due preamble about the end of the war and the world-wide longing for lasting peace, based on justice and love, encouraging praise is given to the Greek people for its resistance during the war and the occupation, based on its faith and its holding fast to the old traditions of real faith in God and the high ideals of the Greek civilization. Faith in the Lord Jesus as the Son of God is raised as the sole standard of life and the only saving power from the evils of this world. The totalitarian efforts from which so much suffering and misfortune spread all over the world, and much more especially over the Greek nation, as well as the materialistic conception of life, are condemned. The spiritual principles of Christian civilization as rightly interpreted and propagated by the Church are to be safeguarded as the only right directives of real life based on righteousness and love, which are the only pillars of real and durable peace. True liberty in thought and action is only the one controlled by these two great virtues as revealed to us from God's Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ. Such liberty, co-operating with the divine Grace, guides mankind surely to the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth. Cruelties and atrocities, especially against human life, wherever they may come from, are condemned as actions offensive to God, and people involved in such actions are called to repentance and rehabilitation of their spiritual relationship with the loving power of God, the Father of all. A special

section is dedicated to youth, encouraging to a reeducation in the principles of Christian religion, acknowledging the leadership of our Lord Jesus Christ and the fine principles of Greek civilization. Only on such principles are real happiness and permanent peace possible.

This pastoral encyclical letter is an excellent document of Christian ideology and Christian guidance, as well as a wonderful testimonial to the readiness of the Church to be a guiding power in social life along the lines of the Ecumenical Movement.

The Synod has acknowledged the existing Christian solidarity among the Christian Churches and has expressed its deepest appreciation for the help given to the Church of Greece by the other Christian Churches for reconstruction work. A special Committee for Relations with Foreign Churches and Reconstruction Work was appointed and a very important piece of work is being done by it. Through the material aid of foreign Churches, it has been possible to repair destroyed churches, to help the priests materially, and to reequip the Church seminaries.

Lastly, the Synod decided on closer co-operation with the World Council of Churches and sent appropriate letters to the Geneva Office, while the above-mentioned Committee is carefully studying the problems of the whole Ecumenical Movement to create the proper background for full co-operation by the Greek Church with the World Council of Churches. To this end, due exchange of views is initiated with the other independent Greek-speaking Orthodox Churches.

During the war and the occupation period, greater contact with the Western Churches was not possible and even development of the existing good relations with the Anglican Church had to be stopped. Soon after the war was over, the Greek Church shared in the sorrow of the Church of England at

Archbishop Temple's death, and was duly represented at the enthronement of the new Archbishop of Canterbury.

The relations of the predominant Orthodox Church with the insignificant minorities of some other Christian bodies, are very friendly and in no way lead to disorder or to danger to religious liberty. Relations with the Roman Catholic Church could be characterized as indifferent, although the share of the small uniat Church in the joint welfare work during the occupation was duly recognized by both the Church and the State.

The religious life of the country is undisturbed and absolute religious liberty and tolerance characterize it.

Regarding the present situation of the Church of Greece, it may be said that its future development and that of the religious life directed by the Church are very hopeful and very promising. The traditional authority of the Church enforced by its efforts at sharing the needs of the people and helping in their daily difficulties attests to its increasing influence in asserting the Christian ideal in the social life of the Church and of the country.

THE NEAR EAST

Bayard Dodge

It is a complicated matter to deal with the "Church" in the Near East, as there are so many different Christian communities in the Balkans, Western Asia, and Egypt.

Not only has the Orthodox Church itself split into numerous national units, but it has also been obliged to compete with many antagonistic sects. Each one of the great historic heresies has produced a hostile group. Many communities have left their traditional Churches and become uniate with the Church of Rome. In more recent years, the Protestant missions have created evangelical Churches, which are always separate and too often entirely divided from the more ancient Orthodox bodies.

First of all, it will be well to speak about the original Church of the Near East, the "Holy Orthodox Church, the Church of the Seven Councils, Ecumenical, Holy Catholic, and Apostolic," popularly known as the Greek Orthodox Church.

In spite of persecution, this original Church increased in strength until it was given official recognition by the Emperor Constantine. Under the patronage of the Byzantine emperors, its doctrines were defined by the great councils of Nicaea, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople.

This early Church was not highly centralized. There were four patriarchs, at Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople. As branches of the Church were established in the

Balkan lands and Russia, new patriarchs were appointed. The Orthodox Church was held together by doctrine and tradition, but each branch developed along its own national lines.

When the Arabs overran the Near East, the Church did not suffer as much as might have been expected. The educated members of the Orthodox Church made themselves very useful to the illiterate Muslims from Arabia, and abstained from political intrigue. As a result, a friendly atmosphere exists to our own day, between the Muslims and the members of the Orthodox Church.

The four original patriarchates still exist. The Patriarch of Antioch lives at Damascus and presides over a community, which uses a great deal of Arabic for its rituals and has Arab bishops and priests. The Patriarch of Jerusalem is a Greek and the Church in Palestine is still more Greek than Arab. The Coptic Church in Egypt split off from the Orthodox community, after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D., and became the principal congregation in Egypt, at the expense of the Orthodox Church.

During the Ottoman Régime, the Patriarch of Constantinople was the leading prelate of an empire which stretched from the Danube to Arabia. But as the Balkan States in the north and the Arab States to the south have become free, the Patriarch of Constantinople has lost his importance. He is now the head of a minority group in a purely Turkish republic.

With a wave of Communism sweeping over the Balkans, the Church is undoubtedly meeting with new difficulties. It is still too soon to venture a guess as to what effect the Russian domination will have upon the religious bodies of the Balkans. Even in Greece, the Church is encountering great hardships and, until order is reestablished, it is impossible to know what the future of the Greek community is to be.

In Syria and Lebanon, the ancient diocese of Antioch is

meeting with better fortune. The two small republics have become free. There is no direct persecution. A number of the archbishops have been sending young monks to the American University of Beirut to obtain their lay education there, while they are being given religious instruction in some Church institution. The University provides free tuition for any student who wears ecclesiastical garb. The very progressive Greek Archbishop of New York and North America was one of these students, and others are following his example.

As the Orthodox Church needs the help of some outside body, there has been a good deal of talk about a closer union with the Church of England or the American Episcopal Church. But, so far, these two bodies have been so reticent about giving aid that it looks as though the recently revived Church of Russia might be the body which would become the patron of the Orthodox communities in the Near East.

The people of Central Asia never accepted the official decisions of the councils and the sway of the Orthodox Church. From the Euphrates to China and India, the Nestorian Church was supreme.

But the terrible Tatar raids of the Middle Ages broke the power of the Church, so that today only a small remnant of the Nestorian community still persists. During the First World War, the Nestorians sided with the British and Russians. When the Communist Revolution occurred, the Russian army collapsed. The Turks and Kurds drove the Nestorians from the Urumia region of Eastern Turkey to Iraq, with fearful loss of life. The surviving Nestorians are to be found among the 35,000 Assyrians of Iraq and Syria. They are poor, ignorant, discouraged, and lacking in leadership. They used to be sheep herders, so that they cannot adapt themselves to farming in Mesopotamia.

In 1886, the Archbishop of Canterbury founded a special

mission to aid these Nestorians and at the present time the Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem supports a small school in the refugee settlement of Tell Tamer in Syria.

The Nestorians are anxious and ready to co-operate with any body that will help them to educate their clergy, to found schools for their children, and to organize public health work. The League of Nations did and the British Government does a great deal for them in a material way, but they urgently need the help of some spiritual body.

There is little to say about this sad remnant of the Nestorian Church, except to emphasize the fact that it will almost certainly go into complete decay, unless aid is given immediately to educate the priesthood and to teach the children how to become self-supporting.

At the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D., the famous Monophysite heresy was condemned. A number of important groups of Christians in the ancient world refused to give it up, so that they split off from the Holy Orthodox Church. These heretical groups were:

1. *The Old Syrian or Jacobite Church.*

For many generations the center was in a famous monastery near Mardin. Although the Turks have allowed nearly 30,000 peasants of this sect to live in the Mardin region, the Patriarch has been exiled to Syria, where he lives in a small monastery on the edge of the city of Hums.

When the Nestorian Church collapsed, the Christians of the Malabar Coast sought the protection of some other body. In 1665 A.D., they joined the Syrian Church. Thus the progressive and prosperous branch of the Church is in India.

Syriac is the principal language of the rituals and the Church keeps alive many traditions. But it has lost its importance and is in need of money. There are about 20,000 members in Syria

and Lebanon, but almost all of them are poor peasants and refugees.

Although the Patriarch is well educated, most of the clergy are comparatively ignorant and there are not enough schools for the laymen. Very little has been done for the Church by Europeans and Anglo-Saxons. This has saved it from becoming the victim of political suspicion, but has also made progress difficult.

The Church is not unco-operative, but the members are, for the most part, so simple that co-operation with foreign bodies has never entered their heads.

2. The Coptic Church.

The word "Copt" evidently comes from "Egyptian," and this "heretical" body is the principal Church of Egypt. About 900,000 people in the Nile Valley are Copts. The Gospels are still read largely in Bohairic, but most of the ritual is now in Arabic. The Church of Ethiopia is a protégé of the Egyptian Church.

Although the people feel that they suffer from being a minority in a Muslim land, many of them are rich and influential. The Church needs a spiritual transfusion and the only way to accomplish this task is to give a more vital type of education to lay and ecclesiastical leaders alike.

3. The Gregorian or National Armenian Church.

About a million and a half of the members are in the Armenian Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The principal Catholics live in the Monastery of Echmiadzin, near Erivan. On the whole, the Russian Government has treated the Armenian Church better than the Russian Church itself. At the present time, there is a good deal of contact between the Church in Armenia and the branches in other lands.

There are about 55,000 members of the Church among the refugee colonies of Lebanon and perhaps as many as 75,000 more in different parts of Syria. Although these people have been transplanted from Turkey during the past quarter century, many of them have become prosperous. It is expected that about 30,000 of the poorest people will return to Armenia in the U.S.S.R. during the coming year.

The Catholicos of Sis has been moved down from Cilicia and resides in a beautiful new center at Antilyas, near Beirut. This branch of the Church has had very intimate relationships with the Near East Foundation, the Sunday School Association, and the American University of Beirut. The Armenian General Benevolent Union, the Howard Karagheusian Commemorative Corporation, the Gullabi Gulbankian Foundation, and other American organizations have also had the closest sort of contacts with the Church. The Church is most anxious to co-operate with other bodies and is especially anxious to work closely with the American Episcopal Church, which has already had pleasant association with the Catholicos at Antilyas and the Patriarch at Jerusalem.

The Armenian Church has suffered more martyrdoms since 1913 than the Church as a whole suffered during the entire period of the Roman Empire. Persecution has made religion a vital matter. The Catholicos of Sis is encouraging the Sunday School movement. Services are being made short and interesting. Many new churches are being constructed by the refugee communities. Schools are being generously supported, and an astonishing amount of philanthropic work carried on.

There is a progressive theological school at Antilyas, and the Catholicos and leading archbishops are encouraging the education of their young men and women. The Church is also publishing some literature and shows real vitality.

The ecclesiastical authorities are anxious to co-operate with

American organizations. Recently, they have also formed close contacts with the revived Church of Russia.

For each Orthodox Church there is a branch, which has split off and become uniate with the Church of Rome. These branches compete with the parent Churches and thus the cause of Christianity is weakened in the Near East.

In the same way, there are groups from most of the old Orthodox communities, which have split off to form Evangelical congregations, intimately connected with the different Protestant missions. This Evangelical movement has weakened the historic Churches. On the other hand, in many places, there is an increasingly good understanding between the members of the older Churches and these new missionary branches. If leaders on both sides are wise, the two groups will come to have the same relationship that the Anglicans and Nonconformists have in England.

As the missionaries have found difficulty in dealing with Islam, they have tended to devote their efforts to developing evangelical bodies, by diverting members from the established Churches. At the present time, there is a desire to stop this movement, as it weakens the Church as a whole in Muslim lands, where the Church should be strong and united.

In Syria and Lebanon, the Evangelical Churches have been obliged by government action to unite together, so as to administer one common code of canon law.

Wherever there are strong missionary schools, the Evangelical Churches have been active and progressive. This year the Armenians have celebrated their one-hundredth anniversary.

These Churches are able to publish interesting religious literature. They join with the missionaries in conducting Sunday Schools and Christian Endeavor Societies. They also help

to distribute Bibles, and conduct schools, charities, and medical work.

Many of the older ministers are old-fashioned and out of touch with the youth. But there is a joint theological school at Beirut, conducted by the American Board and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Most of the students gain the B. A. degree at the University, as well as the diploma of the seminary, which is known as the Near East School of Theology. Even Anglicans use this school and the Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem supports a hostel at Beirut, so that members of the Church of England can study theology and also attend the American University of Beirut.

In general the United Presbyterian Mission is in Egypt, the Presbyterian Board in Syria and Iran, the American Board in Turkey and wherever Armenians are to be found, and smaller groups like the Church of God, various Baptist societies, the Quakers, the Reformed Presbyterians, the Seventh-Day Adventists, and the Disciples are scattered about. The Church of England is especially strong in Palestine and the Dutch Reformed Church in Iraq and the Persian Gulf.

On the whole, the laymen are materialistic and more interested in politics and trade than they are in religion. They support some charities, but too often not in a truly efficient way. They use the Church services for special occasions in a formal way, but usually do not gain much spiritual help from them.

The educated children grow up trained in science, modern in their point of view, and just as far away from their traditional Church leaders as the children of immigrants are from their native rabbis and priests.

Some of the higher clergy are educated, but far too many of them have had only monastery training and are neither cultured nor men of the world. They do not command the

respect of the well-educated laymen. The parish priests are not really educated and, though often kind, they do not appeal to the peasant children as progressive leaders.

A few of the Church Schools are excellent, but for the most part they are not properly financed and lack trained teachers.

The war has brought huge armies and great sums of money into the whole Middle East. As a result, the people have become more materialistic. Movies, modern literature, science teaching, and contact with the troops have turned the people away from their old traditions and made them secularists lacking in essential moral convictions, and indifferent to religion.

The chief threat to the Church is not from without, but from within. The principal need of the Churches is for a better-educated clergy.

Most of the Churches would like to have a greater share in the Ecumenical Movement. But they need help from the more progressive Churches of America and England, to train their clergy and develop modern methods of work. I believe that it will not pauperize the Oriental Churches, if Americans give them aid in educating their clergy, and developing more progressive institutions for their youth.

These ancient Churches form the true contact between Islam and Christianity. Unfortunately, the sympathy of America and England with the Zionist cause has turned the Muslims against our western Christianity and caused extreme resentment. Even in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Egypt, the Arabs in general and the Muslims in particular feel just as strongly about the Jewish question as the Arabs in Palestine do.

There is, theoretically, religious freedom in all of these countries, except perhaps in certain states of Arabia. But when the Christian lands favor a Jewish aggressive movement, which is causing a feeling of terror among the Arabs, it is inevitable that this freedom should be interfered with.

Under the circumstances, it is too bad that the Arab Churches themselves are so indifferent and materialistic that they do not present indigenous Christianity in a way that makes a good impression upon the Muslims. If help could be given to provide a well-trained and spiritually minded leadership for these ancient Churches, it would do more than anything else to revive them. At the same time, it would make the Muslims respect Christianity as they see it at close range.

The whole Near East is going through a period of crisis. On one side are the ideals of our democratic, Christian world. On the other side is Communism. As the Christians have favored the Jews, become agnostic because of modern scientific thought, and cast away their old moral traditions in a desire for European modes, they are not trusted or respected. On the other hand, Communism is making great strides and exerting an ever-increasing influence.

The Church in the Near East, in all its divisions, today stands face to face with one of the most serious crises of its history. On the whole, it lacks an educated priesthood, an interested laity, and a spirit of vital faith.

It is a heavy responsibility for the more vigorous Churches of America to aid their ancient sister communities in the East, that once more the disciples of Jesus Christ may bring light to the peoples that are in darkness, and, to those who are in doubt, a new and vital faith.

THE DIASPORA

George P. Fedotov

THE Second World War found the Russian émigré Church in a state of a deep division. Although its motives were merely political, they were mingled with the canonical issue of the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and thus led to a partial break of sacramental communion between the three rival Church bodies.

The group of the right, so-called that of Karlovtsy, the eldest in formation, was headed by the permanent synod of bishops residing in Srensky Karlovtsy in Yugoslavia under the protection of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch. The majority of the émigré bishops belonged to it, headed by the well-known Metropolitan Antonius, and after his death (1936), by Metropolitan Anastasius. At their first council outside Russia (1921) it was proclaimed that the Orthodox Church needs the Orthodox Emperor, in Russia one of the Romanov dynasty. This Church group identified itself with the monarchical party, a situation which was largely exploited by the Soviet Government in its struggle against the Church within Russia. In the eyes of the Karlovtsy group, the patriarchal Church in Russia had lost its freedom of action since the political "repentance" of Patriarch Tychon and, consequently, the right to represent the Russian Church devolved upon its exiled Episcopate, that of Karlovtsy.

The second, Eulogian, group claimed its canonical status

directly from Patriarch Tychon, who condemned the Karlovtsy Synod for their political action and, even before its founding, had appointed Metropolitan Eulogius as the head of the Churches in western Europe (1921). Eulogius, although in the past also a notorious political leader of the right, was one of those who protested against the political tendencies of the Karlovtsy. His Church (centered in Paris) was open to people of all political opinions; yet, since the Russian liberals and socialists, for the most part, shared anticlerical or even anti-religious convictions, the bulk of the churchgoers, even in the Eulogian flock, consisted of monarchists, mainly of the moderate or constitutional school. The prevailing of the conservative elements in the laity led sometimes to royalist manifestations within the Church but never came to an open clash with the men of the left who felt free and unmolested in the parishes of Metropolitan Eulogius.

When Metropolitan Sergius succeeded to Patriarch Tychon as his *locum tenens* and inaugurated the politics of the *rapprochement* with the Kremlin, he required from all the clergy in the emigration a promise of loyalty toward the Soviet Government. This order was rejected by practically all the emigration Church. The result was suspension of its clergy by Sergius (1930). For Eulogius then arose the problem of canonical legality. He found the expedient of accepting the overlordship of the Ecumenical Patriarch (of Constantinople) acknowledging himself as the exarch of the ecumenical throne under the conditions of a large autonomy (1930).

From the beginning, Eulogius, residing in Paris, limited his jurisdictional claims to the territory of the Western Europe, i.e., with the exception of the Southeast or the Balkans, after France the main center of the Russian emigration. His official title was that of the Metropolitan of Western Europe. The Karlovtsy prelates claimed to rule the whole Church outside

Russia. It was divided by them into four provinces: South Europe, West Europe, America, and the Far East (Manchuria and China). The subordination of America was rather nominal, and the Karlovtsy jurisdiction extended chiefly throughout the Balkan area and the Far East. In Western Europe, they possessed only a few parishes, under the rule of Metropolitan Seraphim, who resided in Paris bearing the same title as Metropolitan Eulogius and abstaining from ecclesiastical fellowship with him.

On the whole, the position of Eulogius was the stronger one, both in number and cultural quality of his flock. He also possessed the best school of clerical education, the Theological Institute in Paris, which acquired a world-reputation far beyond the circles of the Russian emigration.

The edict of Metropolitan Sergius of Moscow (1930) gave birth to the third canonical jurisdiction, that of the Patriarchal Church. A few priests consented to the required oath of loyalty toward the Soviet Government and formed some parishes under Metropolitan Eleutherius of Lithuania as the exarch of Moscow. In Paris, Bishop Benjamin was their head before he was transferred to America. In the few Patriarchal parishes, the most heterogeneous elements were united; the canonical legalists of the conservative mind, for whom obedience to the Russian Church was the condition *sine qua non* of the ecclesiastical existence, some young nationalists of a new fascist type, and sympathizers with the social ideas of Communism. The extreme right and the extreme left joined here in a common loyalty to Moscow.

In spite of all these deplorable schisms and political disturbances, natural in every society of émigrés, the spiritual life in all the three "jurisdictions" was rather high; certainly, far higher than in the prerevolutionary Russia. The life of suffering, the loss of loved ones and of all earthly goods produced

in many a deep revival of religious feelings. Some, even among the young men and girls, took monastic vows. The cultural level of the clergy was raised by highly cultivated men who took orders and by the young priests graduated at the Paris Institute. The youth worked zealously and cheerfully in the newly created Russian Christian Student Movement, built after the pattern and with the assistance of the Y.M.C.A. and the World Student Christian Federation.

When the war broke out, it caused a clash of the opposing trends within the Russian emigration and their Church. Some hoped for the liberation of Russia from the communist régime after Hitler's victory. In others, fear of the foreign invaders and compassion for the mother country prevailed. To still others, loyalty toward the nations which gave them refuge on their soil determined their duty. As was easy to foresee, most pro-German feelings manifested themselves in the Karlovtsy jurisdiction among the group of "rightists." These tendencies had found their vent long before the war. They now could freely manifest themselves in Germany as well as in the countries under German occupation. Some bishops and priests, mostly from Poland, which constituted an independent, "autocephalous" Church, went to "liberated" Russian provinces to take the place of the fugitive clergy and to work on the re-Christianization of Russia.

A similar missionary field offered itself in the camps of Russian prisoners in Germany and other countries; but this work was carried on by priests of the other jurisdictions who did not share the pro-German orientation of their colleagues. It proved indeed very promising. Prisoners, particularly forced-labor workers, often disclosed, together with striking ignorance of any elements of Christian faith, an ardent religious thirst that filled evangelists with joy and amazement.

As time passed, and the destructive or even exterminative

character of German strategy in Russia became clear, the illusions of a liberating Hitler faded away. With but a few exceptions, they never were shared among the Eulogian clergy. In this respect, the Eulogian and the small Patriarchal Church went hand in hand. Metropolitan Eulogius himself, with great boldness, struggled against the pro-German feelings in some rightist circles and reminded his flock of the duty of loyalty toward France, oppressed by the enemy. He was summoned by the Gestapo for the interrogation but allowed to retain his freedom. One of his suffragan bishops, Alexander of Belgium, was arrested and taken to Germany. Hitler's tactics in handling the Orthodox Church outside Russia was parallel to his dealing with the Protestant Church in Germany. He appointed an Orthodox bishop, Seraphim Lade,¹ a Russian of German extraction belonging to the Karlovtsy group, as administrative head of all Russian ecclesiastical groups in the emigration. Seraphim did not replace either Eulogius or Anastasius but he pretended to stand above them as the representative of the German State—like a kind of “over-procurator” of the Holy Synod in old Russia. The trying struggle against the claims of this intruder was one of the main problems of the Eulogian bishops.

The parish clergy continued their service under very hard material and political conditions. Their old duties were complicated by new ones; e.g., concealing and saving hounded Jews or even assisting the clandestine army of the Resistance. Some priests paid with their lives for this new kind of Christian social work. Among others, Fathers Andrew Vrassky, Demetrius Klepinin, and Mother Mary, a nun, died in German concentration camps. The last two persons belonged to the “Orthodox Action” in Paris, a fellowship for social and missionary work. Known for its liberal and social (although

¹Not to be confused with Seraphim of Paris.

moderate) tendencies, this organization received the hardest blow from the Germans. It was closed and all its leaders were sent to concentration camps. Besides the forenamed, there died or were killed the son of Mother Mary Yury Skobtsov and a well-known writer and socialist, I. I. Fundaminsky. Only the secretary of the fellowship, Mr. Pianof, returned alive from camp.

The Paris Institute continued its educational work in spite of famine and the absence of about the half of its faculty members who stayed abroad. Thanks to the financial aid of American and Swiss friends, the Institute survived. Its professors kept writing scholarly works, mostly without any hope of their early publication. Among others, the dean of the Institute, Father S. Bulgakov, finished his great theological trilogy with its third volume, *The Bride of the Lamb* (Ecclesiology and Eschatology), printed after his death in 1945. Prof. K. Mochulsky wrote a large book on Dostoyevsky (not yet published) and Father Cyprian Kern a thesis on the *Anthropology of Gregory Palamas*, together with a translation of his works. Father Kern was promoted to become Doctor of Theology by the Paris Institute.

The death of S. Bulgakov (1944) was a heavy blow not only to the Theological Institute. He was succeeded as dean by Prof. V. Zenkovsky (who took the priestly ordination meanwhile). A group of younger scholars among the former students of the Institute began lecturing on different branches of theology, assisting the work of their teachers.

The victory of the Allies brought a complete reversal in the situation of the émigré Church. The Karlovtsy had to pay a heavy toll. Thousands of "white" Russians were executed by Tito in Yugoslavia. All Russian bishops had to flee from the Balkan zone and take refuge in Germany, in the American occupational zone. Their head, M. Anastasius, took up tem-

porary residence in Geneva. In Germany, the Russian clergy found a new and unexpectedly large flock among the so-called "non-returners"—Red Army prisoners and forced laborers who did not wish to go back to Russia. Those fortunate ones who were not turned out by the Allies still remain in the land of the former enemy and, in a general revision of their spiritual values, often rediscover religion, Christianity, and the Church.

Among the faithful of the Eulogian and Patriarchal jurisdiction, the liberation brought a jubilant exaltation. The victories of the Red Army and the new, imposing rôle played by Soviet Russia in the world turned many heads which were bowed for decades in national humiliation. A hot wave of nationalism swept the emigration both right and left with the exception of those few who linked themselves to Germany. This nationalism was fanned by expectations of radical changes in the internal policy of the Soviets. An unusual patriotic tone of Soviet poets and novelists, the new ecclesiastical policy of the government seemed to justify those hopes. In such an atmosphere of patriotic exaltation, the political leaders of the antibolshevist emigration for the first time visited the Soviet ambassador and exchanged complimentary speeches with Mr. Bogomolov. The question of amnesty and of the general return to the mother country was raised. The Soviet authorities answered not unfavorably, though not very clearly.

The aged invalid, M. Eulogius, shared all these hopes and expectations. He entered into political relations with the Soviet embassy and led the "back-to-Russia" movement. In his own words, his greatest longing was to die and to be buried on Russian soil.

Yet, the bulk of the emigration Church, M. Eulogius included, was in a state of schism with the Russian Church. The break had to be ended somehow. After 1944, Eulogius had been in correspondence with M. Alexius of Moscow, the present

Patriarch, and had expressed his wish to be reunited with the Russian Church. After being elected Patriarch, Alexius sent his nearest aid, Nicholas, Metropolitan of Krutitsy, to England to return a fraternal visit to the Archbishops of the Anglican Communion. On his way back from England, the Patriarch's envoy stayed in Paris and entered into the parleys with both rival Metropolitans, Eulogius and Seraphim. Visiting several Russian churches and chapels, preaching in them, M. Nicholas made a very favorable impression upon the laity and clergy. The content of his conversations with Eulogius and Seraphim was kept secret but a result of them was a solemn concelebration on September 2, 1945, in the Cathedral of St. Alexander Nevsky, of all three Metropolitans and many bishops. The canonical suspension was silently lifted, without any public declaration. The Patriarch of Moscow confirmed the agreement in Paris and later published the rules for the administration of the "West European exarchate." Metropolitan Eulogius, at the head of his seventy-five parishes, was appointed exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow under conditions of autonomy. The former odd parishes of the "patriarchal" jurisdiction were now subordinate to the new exarch. Inconsistently, M. Seraphim maintained, "temporarily," the government of his few parishes.

The reunion, solemnly and jubilantly proclaimed, had, however, two difficulties to overcome. The first one was canonical. Being exarch of the Patriarch of Constantinople since 1930, Eulogius could not change his ecclesiastical loyalty without the consent of Constantinople. He asked for this consent but never received it. So he became exarch of *two* Patriarchs whose names were commemorated in his churches—a situation canonically inadmissible!

A second and still more serious difficulty resulted from the inner opposition and the changing mood of the Eulogian flock.

This opposition sprang from the distrust of the Soviet Government and its new religious policy. Political declarations of the Soviet prelates, their complete endorsement of the government's aims both within Russia and abroad, their denial of religious persecutions in Russia, even in the past, undermined faith in the sincerity of the official spokesmen of the Russian Church.

As time went on, it became clear that no liberal change in U.S.S.R. is likely at present; the country is ruled by terror, and the communist ideology, after a time of relaxation, is enforced again upon the masses and the intelligentsia. New waves of refugees from Russia told stories of horror instead of the expected reconciliation between the rulers and the people. In the light of these events, the heralded reunion with the Moscow Church assumed a lurid aspect—that of a political trap.

M. Eulogius did not ask the consent of his flock when concluding the act of reunion. It seems that even at that time the majority of his clergy and laity would have declined the project. The Theological Institute in Paris was the center of the opposition which, however, did not attempt open protest during the life of M. Eulogius. So great was the esteem that this aged prelate enjoyed. Yet, even Eulogius, in the last months of his life, expressed bitter disappointment in the fruits of his reconciliatory action. Moscow was not so generous toward him and his diocese as he had expected.

As soon as M. Eulogius died (August 8, 1946), the situation changed at once. Two bishops, envoys of the Patriarch Alexius who came to Paris for the funeral of Eulogius, found a cool reception. They brought with them word of the appointment of M. Seraphim as Eulogius' successor and exarch of Moscow. It was a particularly awkward act as Seraphim, a former pro-Hitlerian, is very unpopular in France. Besides, the dying hierarch had already nominated as his successor Archbishop

Vladimir, one of his suffragans, a man of unspoiled reputation and ascetic life.

Supported by the almost general ecclesiastical opinion, Vladimir has refused to acknowledge Seraphim and even to accept canonical dependence on Moscow until he receives formal authorization from the Patriarch of Constantinople. Behind this canonical (and faultless) argument, there was a manifest desire to remain free under Constantinople's protection as during the last fifteen years. A Greek exarch of Constantinople, M. Germanos of Thyatira, came at last from London to Paris and confirmed the Russian clergy in their decision not to abandon this Patriarch. Until now, the situation has not cleared, but it appears that the numerical ratio of the ecclesiastical groups is almost the same as it was before the war. The overwhelming majority, under Archbishop Vladimir, remains under Constantinople; a few parishes accept the Patriarchal jurisdiction; a few—a fraction of Seraphim's flock—accept the authority of Metropolitan Anastasius.

In all countries of the Russian military occupation, those which were formally annexed to the U.S.S.R., Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, West Ukraine, as well as the nominally independent Balkan States Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Russian Orthodox dioceses or parishes were united, willingly or unwillingly, with the Moscow Patriarchate. Those which had enjoyed a status of autonomy under the Patriarch of Constantinople (Finland, Esthonia, Latvia) were granted autonomy under Moscow. Poland lost her autocephaly which never was recognized by Moscow. In all zones of Russian domination, priests are imprisoned and often executed, and antireligious movements have been revived after the old Russian pattern.

The same situation was created in the Far East after the occupation of Manchuria. The former Karlovtsy clergy went

over to Moscow, with the exception of some few parishes in China proper (Shanghai).

The recent developments in America are closer to those of Western Europe, though lacking their dramatic quality. By oceans and victorious armies, America is protected from direct pressure from Russia. The Churches in the United States are entirely free. On the other hand, the Russian dioceses in America consist predominantly, not of political refugees, but of American citizens of Russian extraction, a prerevolutionary (economic and non-political) immigration. In fact, the Russian Church in America was founded 150 years ago as a mission among the heathen Aleutians. In recent decades, it was recruited mainly from Carpatho-Russians who, while never living within the Russian State, by language and by sentiment felt tied to the Russian national community. This American "missionary" Church always was a branch of the Church of Russia. These age-long ties were broken in 1933 when M. Sergius, the *locum tenens* of Moscow Patriarch, demanded a declaration of loyalty to the Soviet Government from the American clergy, ignoring their status of American citizens. Upon their refusal, the American clergy were suspended.

Bishop Benjamin was sent by Moscow from Paris to America with the title of Metropolitan and exarch of the Patriarch. This prelate developed an energetic activity, partly of political character, but only a half-dozen parishes accepted his jurisdiction.

After some years of schism and disorder Metropolitan Theophilus, the elected head of the Russian Church in America, had found a way out of the difficulties by acknowledging in 1936 the authority of the Karlovtsy Synod. This dependence was for long practically nominal. The American Church was ruled by its own councils as supreme organs of authority. This American Church is larger than all Russian Churches abroad

put together. It counts about 325 parishes with approximately 325,000 registered members. Ten bishops shared with the Metropolitan the ecclesiastical administration.

The war aroused in America, as in Europe, the wave of Russian nationalist enthusiasm. In the ardor of these emotions, the pain of the breach with the mother Church was burningly felt. The American Church was, therefore, happy to receive the invitation to the All-Russian Council which convened for the election of Patriarch Alexius in January 1945. The American delegation hoped for reconciliation on the basis of a large autonomy. As matter of fact, they came too late, and their proposals were not considered in Moscow. Instead of this, Patriarch Alexius sent to the United States his own envoy, Bishop Alexius of Yaroslavl! The latter met with a cool reception from the Theophilian Hierarchs, and no real negotiations took place. The main condition insisted upon by Moscow was a break with the Karlovtsy Synod and the immediate convocation of the American Council for reunion with the Russian Church. Moscow was confident of the support of the laity in the council against the recalcitrant prelates. Two of the ten bishops acknowledged unconditionally the supremacy of Moscow and carried away with them only some four parishes. Thus, as a whole, the mission of Alexius of Yaroslavl was a failure.

The decisive point was political. America was very well informed of what was going on in Russia itself and in the Russian "spheres of influence." To the degree that the rift between Russia and the former Allies deepened, the recent enthusiasm yielded to an ever-growing feeling of distrust. Taking into account the factor of time, Metropolitan Theophilus fixed the assembly of the American Council for November 1946. So far, the decision of the American Church is in suspense just as is that of the Western European Church. The future Council

has to decide its relations as a "missionary" Church both with the Moscow Patriarchate and with the (former Karlovtsy) Synod of M. Anastasius. From the results of parish elections and resolutions, it is possible to guess that the majority would welcome the canonical reunion with the Church of Russia—however, under conditions of such an autonomy as would preclude every interference of Moscow with the life of the American Church.

THE HOLY LAND

Francis J. Bloodgood

DURING the war, many of the troops in the Mediterranean area were given the opportunity to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Many said this experience was a severe test of Christian faith. One American chaplain declared he wished Mr. Rockefeller be asked to rebuild Jerusalem as he had rebuilt Williamsburg, Virginia!

In the Acts of the Apostles, in the first chapter and the eighth verse, in connection with the account of our Lord's final instructions before Ascension, we read the clear command that we are to be witnesses to Him "in Jerusalem, all Judea, and Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." The Christian gospel has certainly gone to the uttermost parts of the earth, but the Christian gospel is close to going under in the Holy Land itself.

This short chapter on the Christian situation in the Holy Land is a commentary on the command of Jesus Christ for Christian work in Palestine.

One going from the West to Palestine may hear remarks implying an element of amazement that a Christian should head in such a direction. He may even be asked, "Why are you going to Palestine? Are you going there to found a church?"

The Mother Church of all Christians is in Jerusalem. We remember the description in the Easter Gospel of setting out for the tomb of the crucified Son of Man "very early, while

it was yet dark." (The right introduction to Jerusalem for all Christian pilgrims is the guidebook of the New Testament.) Every morning, at two, the Greek Orthodox Liturgy is said in the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem. The Greek Orthodox Church is the ancient and native Church of the Holy Land and still uses the original language of the New Testament.

A lesson in Church history is furnished in the Order of Worship in the Church of the Resurrection. Following the Greek Liturgy, which bears the name of St. John's Chrysostom, there is the Armenian Liturgy, because Armenia is the oldest Christian nation in the world. Armenia, due to the inspired leadership of St. Gregory the Illuminator, became a Christian nation twenty years before the Emperor Constantine legalized Christianity in the Roman Empire. Therefore, in close association with the Greek Church and sharing the altar of the Church of the Resurrection, are the Armenians whose record for Christian martyrdom speaks for itself. Also sharing the altar and coming third in the Order of Worship, is the Latin Church. Since the military and moral failure of the Crusades, the Franciscans have represented the See of St. Peter in the Holy City of Jerusalem, which is the religious capital of mankind, where St. Peter himself wept in penitence.

We start with the New Testament as our guidebook and we must never be separated from it, but we must add an outline of Church history. Even as great a historian of Christian missions as Prof. Kenneth Latourette of Yale has neglected the history of the Church of Jerusalem. For example, in his Lowell Lectures at Harvard, 1939, under the comprehensive title "*Anno Domini*, Jesus, History, and God," Prof. Latourette merely mentions Tasso's poem, "Jerusalem Delivered," and fails completely in direct reference to the Jerusalem Church. He disposes of the Greek Orthodox Church in one sentence.

This sentence refers to the Moslem conquest of Constantinople in 1453, but the Jerusalem Church was in bondage to the Moslems beginning with Omar's conquest of Jerusalem in 634.

Prof. Latourette is not to be blamed for following the conventional approach to Church history. However, it is well for us to remind ourselves that the father of Church history is Eusebius, who was a bishop of the Church of Palestine at Caesarea on the Mediterranean Coast, 260 to 330 A.D. Eusebius gives Christian perspective on the Church of Jerusalem. If Church historians today were to take Eusebius as their compass and Jerusalem as the North Star, the course of Church history would be steered straight. We have got off the course by reason of taking our directions either from the Pilots of Rome or the Pilots of the European Reformation.

Let us illustrate what is meant by Christian perspective in relation to Jerusalem, as an earthly city which we recognize when we sing "There is a Green Hill Far Away Beyond a City Wall," and hail as our eternal home, when we quote the Epistle of the Hebrews, "Jerusalem, which is above, which is the mother of us all." An illustration may be found in the better-known writings on Jerusalem. Here, we must admit, Jerusalem is treated as the City of the Past. George Adam Smith wrote on *Jerusalem from the Earliest Time to AD 70*. Most Christian scholarship dealing with Jerusalem stops where George Adam Smith stops. The book on Jerusalem after 70 AD., which is read if anything is read on Jerusalem in the Christian dispensation, is entitled *Jerusalem, City of Herod and Saladin*, by Besant and Palmer. This title certainly overlooks the real significance of Jerusalem.

Our personal experience has been that today Christians are archeologically conscious of Jerusalem and religiously unconscious. The illustration of this lies in the fact that we received a cable telling us to rush news of the reported discovery of a

tomb uncovered while workmen were digging a cellar for a new house in the modern section of Jerusalem. This tomb was thought to have an inscription that might be contemporary with the time when our Lord made Palestine His earthly home. There was world interest on the part of Christians in this archeological find which proved to be nothing but a rumor. Yet Christians are, generally speaking, unconscious of the fact that one hundred thousand Arabs in the Holy Land are Christians, and they are equally unconscious of the work of the Church Mission to Jews in Palestine.

The Christian situation in Palestine cannot be understood in isolation. The first Christian heresy was that of Marcion, who declared the Christian Church need not retain the Old Testament. Marcion was repudiated for such teaching. Marcion had departed from the tradition of St. Paul. St. Paul, when waiting trial in Rome for his Christian preaching in Palestine, had declared, as we read in the last chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, "Because that for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain." The first fifteen Bishops of Jerusalem, beginning with St. James of the New Testament, known as the Brother of the Lord, were all of the Hebrew race. The first hundred years of the Church of Jerusalem found the Christian faith had its main support from the Children of Israel. It was only with the violent revolt of the Jews under Bar-Cochebas, who claimed divinity for himself and demanded condemnation of the followers of Jesus of Nazareth, that the Christians of Jerusalem began choosing Greeks as their bishops. When the former rabbi, Solomon Alexander, came to Jerusalem as the first Anglican bishop in 1841, he promptly and properly revived the use of Hebrew in Christian worship. A modern Jew, who, like St. Paul, found the hope of Israel in Jesus of Nazareth, wrote this sentence in the Dublin Review of April, 1946, on the Jewish question: "From the days of her infancy the Church

has had to fight the twofold combat against Jewish pride which begrudges Gentile participation in the Kingdom of Heaven and against pagan envy which takes offense at Israel's prerogatives."

The Christian situation in Palestine can be treated neither in isolation from the Jews who have suffered so long from Christian pride and so dreadfully from the diabolic treatment of Hitler, nor in isolation from the Arabs who were liberated by the British only in 1917 after four hundred years of subjugation under the Turks (1517-1917). The Christian Arabs are distressed by the seeming indifference of the Christian world to the Church of Jerusalem and are strongly tempted to follow the great majority of their race into the Moslem faith.

The Greek Orthodox Church is Greek in the membership of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, which forms the hierarchical structure of the Church, but Arab in parish priests and in the great majority of communicants. Strangely enough, the Christian world pays little or no attention to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Yet he is the successor to St. James, who presided in the first council of the Church held, naturally, in Jerusalem. The bishopric of Jerusalem is in truth the Dominical See of Christendom, whereas the other ancient Sees are Apostolic.

When we look at the immediate Christian situation in Palestine, we observe that there are fewer Christian schools now than there were at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the Turks still ruled the Holy Land. This can only mean that the entire Christian world today cares less for the Christians of the Holy Land than did the Russian Church. An illustration of this fact can be symbolized by the Church of the Resurrection, which was badly shaken by an earthquake in 1927 and is near collapse. The Church of Jerusalem, for centuries, received its main support from the Russian Orthodox Church and from the thousands of Russian pilgrims who set

an example of devotion to the birthplace of the Christian faith which put all others who profess and call themselves Christians to shame. Some well-known preachers who have paid sentimental, and very brief, visits to Palestine have complained of the poverty of the native Christians. That poverty is the honor of the Church of Jerusalem. Repeatedly, during the centuries of Turkish rule, the Christians of the Holy Land gave all they had to save the Christian Holy Places from being made over into places of Moslem worship. At the same time, we should know that Mohammed put respect for the heroes of the Old Testament and respect for the Mother of Jesus into the Tenets of the Koran.

It is impossible, in a couple of thousand words, to do more than indicate the Christian situation in the Holy Land. Jerusalem today has become part of contemporary history. It is no longer shrouded in the Biblical past or confused with the Heavenly City of the hymnal.¹ On the practical side, the members of Christian Churches should examine their consciences as to their support of Christian work in the Holy Land, for example, as traditionally through the Good Friday offering. We repeat, the Christian world today is doing less than the Russian Church did alone in the past. In the United States, under the "G.I. Bill of Rights," there is opportunity for Jews and Christians alike to study in the Holy Land. The Jews are going there to study and the Christians seem to be hesitating. Yet, in addition to the splendid Hebrew University, there are excellent Christian places for study, such as the Dominican's Biblical Institute, St. George's Collegiate Church, the Newman School of Missions,

¹ Many have read *Thieves in the Night*, by Arthur Koestler. Reread this book, not as a novel, but as a spiritual document of Zionism. Then think of the spiritually dispossessed people of Palestine. Few have read *The Arab Awakening*, by George Antonius. All who intend to work in Palestine, or anywhere in the Near East, should read *Meet the Arab* by the Rev. Dr. John Van Ness, who has had forty years' experience with the Dutch Reformed Mission in Iraq.

which is a Methodist foundation with an interdenominational outlook, the Armenian Seminary, and the American School of Oriental Research.

The Christian opportunity is as boundless as are "the unsearchable riches of Christ." The contemporary violence in the Holy Land is political and based on race. There is no religious war. Copies of the New Testament are being read in Tel-Aviv. The wife of one of the leading Arab Moslem families in Palestine was recently baptized, and her family approved. A great Jewish mystic has said there will be a religious revival because people will sicken of violence and political obsessions. Jew and Moslem alike will only respect the Christian faith if they see more Christians obeying the command of Jesus Christ to proclaim him as Saviour of all mankind in Jerusalem and throughout the Holy Land, as well as in the uttermost parts of the earth.

IV
THE FAR EAST

I

CHINA

OCCUPIED CHINA

Chester S. Miao

THE war against Japan in China lasted fourteen years, 1931-1945. It could be divided into three principal stages. The first stage started with the Mukden incident in 1931, the second with the Marco Polo Bridge incident in 1937, and the third with the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941.

In the first stage, the hostilities were limited to Manchuria. Soon after the Japanese had gained control of the situation in the three northeastern provinces, the churches there were completely cut off from their sister institutions within the Great Wall. Even today they remain isolated.

In the second stage, all the coastal provinces of China proper as well as several of the interior provinces such as Anhwei, Kiangsi, Shansi, and Hupeh were invaded and occupied by the Japanese army. However, during the entire period, little damage was done to the Chinese churches. Missionaries, whether medical, evangelistic, or educational, stayed on their jobs. They did excellently and heroically a unique piece of relief work. Whether the Japanese liked it or not, they had somehow to restrain themselves in order to show some respect for neutral countries and their citizens.

However, situations changed radically after the Pearl Harbor attack, December 7th, 1941. The size of occupied territory

was enlarged until it covered thirteen out of the eighteen provinces. Although not all of these thirteen provinces were ever completely occupied, nevertheless it is true that almost all the larger cities were affected by the Japanese army in one way or another.

Then the United States of America and Britain were no longer neutrals. They became at once number one enemies of Japan. Their citizens in China, including missionaries, also became enemy nationals. Of about 5,000 missionaries in China in 1941, four-fifths were serving in the occupied areas. Of these four thousand, only about three hundred are citizens of Germany and Scandinavian countries. While all these "enemy nationals" were gradually interned, those German and Scandinavian missionaries, who were supposed to have enjoyed, technically, their freedom, had also suffered certain serious limitations. In the first place, they had great difficulties in securing financial aid from their home boards. Those who completely failed to do so became orphan missions. In the second place, the Japanese authorities discouraged Chinese Christians from having close relationships with these foreigners. War conditions had, of course, prevented these missionaries from carrying on their itinerary work or from visiting out-station churches.

The Christian Churches, in the occupied areas, that were once closely associated with those enemy nationals and their missions were naturally looked upon with suspicion by the Japanese military. Technically, these Churches could now be labeled and treated as enemy institutions. But the Japanese did not choose to take this course. Surely it was not due to their respect for Christianity nor to their love of the Church. Probably they were eager, while the war was on, to show some favors to the Chinese so as to woo them to support their own "greater Asia program." Or perhaps they had entertained an

idea of making some use of the Chinese Church as a means to their ends.

As Christianity came first to these thirteen provinces in China, it is only natural that we should find churches and Christian institutions stronger there than in the other five provinces. Of the 7,000 organized churches, about 6,000 were found in the occupied areas with a membership of about 450,000. The 1,000 organized churches in free China had only about 50,000 communicants, one-tenth of the total Protestant communicants in China. There were 232 Church hospitals and branches for the whole country, of which only thirty were located in free China. Only one of the thirteen Christian colleges and universities and only twenty-five of 250 Christian middle schools were located in free China. It is clear from these figures that the greater part of the Protestant work in China was located in the occupied areas and was therefore seriously affected by the war.

Eleven of the twelve Christian colleges and universities in the occupied areas closed their doors and left their campuses. Some, like the University of Nanking, Ginling College, and Cheeloo University, started their migration as early as 1937; others, like Yenching University, Fukien Christian University, and Hwa Nan College, did not migrate until after Pearl Harbor; still others, like Lingnan University and Soochow University, had to move more than once because of the changing war situation. The only institution carrying on its work on its own campus throughout the war was St. John's University, Shanghai. The University of Shanghai was officially closed after Pearl Harbor because its board of directors did not wish to carry on the work in Shanghai and at the same time found it too late to move to the interior.

Most of the Christian middle schools had adopted the same policy as their sister institutions of higher learning. All those

in Kwangtung, Hunan, Hupeh, Fukien, and Kiangsi migrated to free China and a few in other provinces did the same thing. But many in East China, Hopei, and Shantung were either taken over by force by the puppet government or moved to Shanghai, where they had comparatively more freedom to carry on their work without much molestation.

Many a Church member and professional worker also migrated to the western provinces. Their exact number is unknown, but judging from observations it could not be very large. The great majority of Christians and their leaders chose to stay on in occupied areas. But even among them, there was some relatively local migration. Some moved to larger cities, like Shanghai and Peiping, where life was comparatively more secure, while others preferred to go into more isolated places where living was a little cheaper. The course for the churches to take under such circumstances was rather simple. They had to stay where their people were.

Now to make a decision was one thing and to carry out the decision was quite another. We shall soon see that it was by no means easy for the churches to carry on their work in the occupied areas. But whether they were prepared or not they had to pay high prices for their choice. The following are some of the principal ones.

One of the most difficult and inevitable problems the churches had to face was how to cope with the invading authorities. While personal attitudes varied with local military officers in power, there was, in general, a set pattern on the part of the Japanese in handling the Protestant churches. Aside from a few isolated cases such as Fengchow, Shansi, where church leaders were severely persecuted and several of them subsequently died as a result, or as Huchow, Chekiang, where all kinds of church gatherings, including worship services, were strictly prohibited, the Japanese militarists as a whole

tolerated Chinese churches. They could function either in their own premises or in rented quarters. But the Japanese required them to have some kind of Church union or federation. Of course, primary Japanese interest in this matter was political rather than theological. What they wanted was some kind of organization which would give them an effective means of control. They tried to make the chairman and the executive committee of such a union or federation directly responsible to them for conduct of its member churches.

The attitude of Chinese Christians toward such an enforced union or federation was sharply divided. Some, although a small number, had felt keenly that it was a good opportunity of developing a real Church union and therefore advocated working wholeheartedly toward that goal, regardless of Japanese interests. However, the great majority of Church people took it only as a means of expediency, a political game to play with the Japanese as long as was necessary. They had no love for it, nor did they see how any good could come out of it.

But back of these diversities of thought, there was one underlying conviction that unified all of them; namely, they all believed that in union there is strength and that they must use the organization thrust upon them as a weapon to combat their enemies.

The next difficult problem was the complete absence of missionary leadership for the Chinese churches in the occupied areas. All American and British missionaries were either interned or repatriated. The small number of European missionaries were more or less separated from their Chinese fellow-Christians by pressure. For the first time in the history of Protestant Churches in China, the Chinese Christians were left alone to plan, work, and administer their own affairs as best they could. Hard as the experiences must have been, they were, however, not altogether unprofitable. Furthermore,

not all churches were caught unprepared. Many of them were, long before the war, trained by their missionaries to rely more upon the power of God and to depend more upon their native leadership—lay and professional men and women. But God also gave opportunities at a time like that for many new leaders to evolve out of the crisis. It was only those poorly organized churches in which training of leadership was neglected that were unprepared for the arrival of the bridegroom! When they had to work alone and under difficult circumstances, many of them simply found their task too hard. They were forced either to crumble or to retreat.

Another difficult problem the churches faced was the matter of finance. This worked hardship in two ways. On one hand, they were completely cut off from their mother Churches' support. On the other hand, the economic situation in the occupied areas rapidly deteriorated as the war dragged on. Not only food and other vital supplies were acutely short, but also prices were rapidly and continuously soaring. This made the task of self-support an exceedingly difficult if not an impossible one. Probably one of the best by-products of the whole experience was that it did offer an unprecedented challenge to the Church members to assume a responsibility of trusteeship of which they were little conscious before the war.

Still another problem experienced by the churches was that of physical and psychological isolation. As the war went on, traveling became increasingly difficult and expensive, new literature was no longer printed or circulated, conferences and committee meetings were temporarily suspended, Church officials very seldom made their itinerary visits, personal correspondence was cut down to a minimum, and, whenever writing was absolutely necessary, only brief letters were written and they were limited by a careful choice of language. In other words, except in a few metropolitan cities where there

was always a larger group of Christians and where they had plenty of opportunities for meetings and fellowships, Churchmen suffered badly from both physical and psychological isolation. Is it any wonder that after VJ day people should have clamored for the early return of missionaries and immediate visits of their Church authorities? They are hungry for good friendship which was denied to them during the long, trying war years.

Fortunately the Churches have survived. But how have they emerged? What outstanding changes do we note?

To be frank and realistic, we must say that the Church in China has emerged from the war victorious but not without injuries. She is somewhat like a combatant coming out of a boxing engagement with black eyes, a broken nose, and bruises on her body. Many of the Church properties were damaged and destroyed. A large number of Church hospitals and schools have lost almost all of their libraries and equipment. Whatever buildings are available today need badly thoroughgoing repair.

The Church has also lost not a few of her leaders. Some migrated to free China at the beginning of the war and after VJ day they came back to their old places, but the process of rehabilitation is not simple. The most difficult part is probably that of social and psychological readjustments which need to be made between those returning from migration and the people who stayed at home throughout the war. Differences in viewpoint and ways of doing things due to different circumstances may very easily lead to misunderstandings and even to clashes. Some leaders died of war accidents, sickness, or Japanese persecution. Still others have given up their Church jobs and entered into new work because of economic pressure. Chances of their returning to old jobs in the post-war period do not seem to be altogether too promising. Those holding on to their jobs faithfully are getting tired and worn out, ragged

and undernourished. The most serious of all is that a large number of them are getting old and can render only a few more years of active service to the Church.

At the same time, the Church has failed to recruit many new candidates. The situation has become so critical that, unless something is done quickly and effectively, there is going to be very soon a terrible shortage of well-trained workers. Young people have become more interested in science, economics, and politics than in the Christian ministry. Even in education, which was a very popular field a generation ago, there are now more girls enrolled than boys. All this may be only a passing phenomenon, we hope, caused by the wartime influence; but it constitutes a real threat to the life of the Church in China.

Let us now turn to the other side of the picture. In spite of the fact that the Churches have suffered heavily from physical destruction and loss of leadership, they still have vitality and determination to recover and rebuild their work. And the prospect of their recovery and rebuilding is good because of many factors in their favor.

First, the Churches by their ministry to the poor and sick and wounded in time of suffering and by their staying with the people under one common enemy domination have gained for themselves a new respect and appreciation in the eyes of the people. The fact that many missionaries had chosen internment camp instead of repatriation has also aroused great sympathy and admiration among the non-Christians. In one way or another, the Churches have emerged from the war enjoying better and happier relations with the Chinese community. This new attitude, if it can be wisely capitalized, can become a great asset.

Secondly, the Churches have emerged from the war with certain new experiences and outlooks. For example, through

the war years they have learned what suffering means, what war is, what wonderful and unlimited resources are available from God, how much is involved in upholding Christian faith and love in a hostile and materialistic world, and where the secret lies in being able to give an effective witness. Again, through contact with Japanese Christians in the war-years, hard as that experience must have been when the two parties met as enemies, many a Chinese Christian has, however, found out to his surprise that there exists some common ground for their relationship and mutual understanding or something that transcends race, nationality, and even war. Also, in small group meetings, laymen and professional workers have freely shared together their evaluations of the past and aspirations for the future. Undoubtedly, not all their points were well taken or relevant enough to the post-war situation, but it would be a great pity to allow that understanding completely to evaporate. The vital question is how can such rare experiences and insights, gained only at great cost, be conserved and developed for enrichment of the life of the Churches in China?

Thirdly, the Churches have emerged from the war with more lay leaders than they have ever had in their whole history. Many of these leaders during the war bore unusually heavy responsibilities in Church affairs. They have thus not only gained rich experiences but also got new insights into Church work. Through the process, there is a growing loyalty and interest in the Church. They have felt a sense of proprietorship for the Church. It is *their* Church. They have a concern for its being and its work. Looking at it educationally, we can safely say that this is a most significant development of the whole war-experiences. We hope it will be more highly developed in the post-war period.

Fourthly, the emerging Churches have definite attitudes toward the question of larger co-operation. Of course, the

Japanese-enforced union or federation has no chance to survive. It is only natural that such an organization should be liquidated immediately after VJ day. So far as real Church union is concerned, the prospect is not too bright for the immediate future. The tendency is probably toward disunion after the pressure is removed. At the same time, there is a possibility of organic union of these Churches that have common historical backgrounds. On the other hand, there will be most likely an increasing amount of interdenominational co-operation, both nationally and regionally, particularly on a functional basis.

It is especially true that those wartime products which have nothing to do with the Japanese will not only survive but grow. Such experiments as the United Christian Publishers' Association, Student Evangelism in Government Universities, and China Bible House (which is a union of American, British, and Scottish Bible societies) will have far-reaching effects upon the life of the Church if they can be further strengthened. In medical work, which has suffered very great loss in the war, instead of attempting rehabilitation for each individual hospital, there is a desire to have co-operation in regional planning. The North China Christian Rural Service Union is urging the Christian organizations in its region to meet the rural challenge and to pool personnel and funds in a united effort to minister to rural people.

Now, with all their losses and gains, the Churches in China are entering into an era of reconstruction. While the work will be radically different from that under Japanese domination, it does not promise, however, to be a less difficult or less exacting job. They will have to face many a discouraging situation, to cope with many a complicated problem, and to take a lead in many a task which may not be immediately appreciated by the people in and outside of the Church.

For example, the present political situation in China is a very

complicated as well as discouraging one. Instead of peace, unity, and rapid economic recovery, as hoped and prayed for by the people in wartime, the country has now plunged into civil wars, inflation, famine, moral degradation, and more disruptions of communications and factories. The fact that all these are very much complicating and hampering the Church's reconstruction work is indeed sad enough; but when one thinks of the larger issues of the country as a whole, the life and death of the nation and the mounting suffering of the great multitude, one can not but feel the tremendous challenge of the time. Has the Church of God any message to give in a situation like this? What positions should the Church take and how can she make them effectively felt?

Furthermore, the reconstruction work of the churches is only a part of the gigantic task of reconstruction of the whole nation. It is true that the Church can give a shining example by first doing her own work well. However, this can not and should not be too much over-emphasized because by saving herself only she is in danger of losing her life. She can not afford to close her eyes to vital problems of rural reconstruction and the industrialization of China. If there ever was a time when the country and her millions needed prophetic direction from the Church, it is *now*. The life of millions is at stake. How can she see it and pass by on the other side?

The Churches in China have also to face the task of reconciliation with the Church in Japan as well as that of ecumenical relationship with older Churches in the West. These two tasks are in reality one, for a genuine ecumenical fellowship for the Chinese Church must include fellowship with Japanese Christians. And this fellowship cannot be real without reconciliation. And reconciliation not only takes both sides but also requires both sides to be sincere and humble in love and forgiveness. It is hoped that the contact made between the two groups during

wartime can serve as a bridge for something that will contribute toward better understanding between the two countries and thereby toward peace and happiness to the world in general.

In connection with the Church's own reconstruction, there are also not a few complicated problems awaiting attention and solution. One of these, for example, is the problem of self-support. This had been earnestly tried by different Church groups before the war. Some progress was noted, but unfortunately it has been upset or paralyzed by the war.

Another one of these complicated problems is that of missionaries. Of course, the Chinese Christians are eagerly expecting missionaries to return. They welcome both new and old ones, as soon and as many as the Boards can send. Here again the problem is by no means a simple one. For various reasons, it seems clear that the pre-war number of missionaries in China will not likely be matched in the next decade. At the present moment, it is not lack of funds, but of a new supply of candidates to replace those lost through death, age, and poor health.

But what is to be the attitude of those who can go back now? On one hand, it is only natural that missionaries should look forward to the very best opportunities of rendering service to the Chinese Church. Everything should therefore be done to assure that they will be given opportunities to do their best work. On the other hand, they cannot afford to overlook the fact that the Church in China is not what she used to be in the pre-war days. Many changes, social, political, and economic, have taken place in the whole country. How can missionaries make the best use of all these changes? Above all, how can they do their best and creative work and yet at the same time help the Chinese Church to go forward instead of going backward to the pre-war time?

Still another problem is the policy of institutional work.

Take the Christian middle schools and colleges as an illustration. They are all rapidly moving back to their original places. The moving is to be terribly expensive. But much more so will be the task of rehabilitating their buildings and equipment. At the same time, it is clear that there are not enough financial resources, even with the generous gifts from the older Churches in the West, to meet all these emergency needs, to say nothing of future maintenance and development. The very pertinent question to be raised here is, therefore: should there be a statesmanlike policy of correlation and coordination? If so, what is it? What should be the criteria for such a program? In general, many people will agree to abstract principles. The real test comes when someone is trying to make the proposal concrete and to have it translated into reality. Here inertia, institutional loyalty, denominational prejudice, and personal interests all become powerful forces of obstruction. Yet, for the good of larger interests, all these oppositions must be overcome, otherwise the witness of the Church will be much weakened. If this is not the time for working out some kind of forward-looking program, when will it be? History shows that such opportunities do not arise too frequently!

It is our prayer that the Church in China will seek first the Kingdom of God and that in this great task of reconstruction His will may be done.

UNOCCUPIED CHINA

W. Y. Chen

THE VAST territory behind the Japanese lines in China, with its reservoir of manpower and resources, constituted what we called "Free China," the seat of the almost incredibly long resistance against a power which was militarily and materially China's superior. Never before has the Church in that area faced a greater test than during these years of war. She has witnessed a catastrophe that afflicted the whole nation; cities were burned to the ground, people tortured, killed, or carried away, churches and schools pillaged and destroyed. More than one hundred million refugees came from occupied areas, the largest migration ever recorded in the long history of China. To those who were suffering or in need, the Church ministered through love and mercy, irrespective of color or faith. In danger and privation, she shared with the people whom she served. In the hour of despondency and despair, she brought to the people good tidings, tidings of faith, hope, and love. At the time of VJ Day and subsequent victory, she called the whole nation to turn to God, to repent, to humble themselves and to give thanks to Him. Through the storms, the Church has led her people and advanced without faltering. She has been tested, and has not been found wanting.

Now the war of resistance is over. She is facing new problems, the magnitude of which is even greater than in the time of war.

The impact of war on the life and work of the Church has brought about several notable changes, changes that will enable her to face the issues on more advantageous ground.

First, there has been a change of attitude toward the Church. As remarked by Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the invaluable

service rendered by Chinese Christians and missionaries has moved the whole Chinese nation to a sense of appreciation of the true Christian spirit which animated them in their action. Their self-sacrificing spirit has aroused admiration among the people and made them appreciate the cause for which Christians are ready to live and even to die. During the war years, the Church in Free China has pressed forward with the traditional threefold program, namely, preaching, teaching, and healing. Through the Christian spiritual mobilization movement, the youth and religion campaign, student evangelism in the national universities, and the Church Forward Movement sponsored by the National Christian Council, the Church has made great strides in the extension of God's Kingdom.

Take Szechuan province for example. While the ratio of Christians in the total population of China is one out of every 800, the ratio in Szechuan is one out of every 4,000. During the first half of the war the increase of membership was thirty-five per cent, of which only fifteen per cent is the increase due to the influx of Christians from outside. The increase in the subsequent years was considerably higher. Before the war there were 268 mission hospitals in China. Only about seven per cent of the hospitals, with approximately six per cent of the beds and four per cent of the physicians, were located in the western half of the country. During the year 1944, however, the following medical institutions were in operation in the group of provinces of Free China under Christian auspices:

Hospitals	141
Dispensaries	98
Field units, mobile	117
Orphanages	20
School clinics	25
Leprosaria	30

In the field of education, the Church looked after approximately one-tenth of the total student body in China even during the war. Twelve out of thirteen Christian universities and colleges were operating in Free China as the war went on. Thousands of Christian youths were enlisted for war service under the auspices of the National Christian Service Council for Wounded Soldiers in Transit, the Y.M.C.A. Emergency War Area Service, and the Joint War-Time Service Committee sponsored by the National Christian Council and the New Life Movement Headquarters. Their heroism, courage, and selflessness have won nation-wide sympathy and acclaim. It is apparent to the people that the Christian religion affects every aspect of life and is not regarded as a private matter for the individual, or limited only to the salvation of men's souls.

Further, the Church in Free China has been consulted on various questions, social, economic, and political. In May, 1946, reporters of several important news agencies in Chungking interviewed Christian leaders on national and international issues, and a considerable space was given in several newspapers to the discussion of the opinions of these men as the "Voice of the Church." A nation-wide call to prayer for internal peace and unity was sponsored by the NCC, but initiated by the Church of Free China. The Church has also been requested to make a statement appealing for peace. The Chinese people want peace and democracy. Is the Church in a position, as she was in wartime, to help the people along the road toward peace and to the building of a democracy? This is one of the many questions she will have to answer. Chinese Christians believe in the separation of the Church and the State, but they also believe that the Christianity is not a part of life, but the whole.

The influx of Christian leaders and men of ability into Free China has helped to broaden the outlook of the Church. For a time, the cream of the nation was mostly in Free China.

About 30,000 Chinese Christians migrated to Free China and were distributed in no less than thirteen provinces. The contributions brought by these Chinese Christians to the life and work of the Church were invaluable. The visits of Church leaders from America and Great Britain, the deputations from the Indian Church, and the presence of a few Continental missionaries have widened the horizon of the Church in the interior. Ecumenical consciousness was not lacking, but it has never been fully awakened, though the NCC had tried to impart this outlook to the Church through the reports of the Madras Conference and pamphlets on ecumenicity.

The emergence of the Chinese nation as a member of the United Nations has brought to the consciousness of the Chinese Church the fact that she is an integral part of the world Church. The visit of Mr. Wendell Willkie, author of *One World*, and of the parliamentary mission from Great Britain not only made clearer the place of China in the family of United Nations and the part China will play toward the realization of the *Ta-T'ung Shih-Chieh*—the United World, the Great Co-operative Commonwealth—dreamed of by the ancient sages of China, but also inspired Chinese Christians with the desire to have a part in building a world Christian community. The aspirations of mankind for an international order are an application of the idea of the Church Universal to the secular order of mankind. An organization of United Nations will break down unless it is backed up by a universal moral force that is found in the Church Universal. It is, therefore, the desire of the Chinese Churches that the Younger Churches should be adequately represented in the World Council of Churches and that the developments in the life of the Church during the war years may point a way to a United Church in the future, which may become an organic part of ecumenical Christianity.

The circumstances of the war of resistance made it necessary for the Churches to pool their resources, to struggle and to advance together. In relief work and even in worship they sometimes united, ignoring denominational differences. There was manifested a genuine spirit of unity—"One in faith and doctrine, One in charity." In several aspects of relief and literature work, the Protestant Churches co-operated with Roman Catholics. Even those Churches which heretofore did not co-operate with others have come forward and worked hand in hand with their brethren. The groups that are outside the NCC set up in Free China an Emergency Committee on Christian Co-operation to work together with the NCC on the problems of relief, registration, Church property, taxation, and other relations with the government.

In response to the demands of the time, a conference of Church leaders in Chengtu appointed a Committee on Church Unity. A new plan for Church union was worked out. Though the plan is by no means satisfactory or even practical, the spirit and the desire on the part of the Chinese Churches point the way toward a united Church of China. Church leaders realize, however, that an organic Church union, though a goal to be aimed at, may require a long time to achieve. It is possible for the Churches to resort to united planning and concerted action before there is any union. Organic Church union can not be suddenly imposed and be effective. It must evolve. The union of the Churches in occupied areas as imposed by the Japanese has now gone to pieces. It is the spirit of closer co-operation as evidenced in Free China that has paved the way for strategic planning for the post-war Church, which may increase the strength of unity and eventually lead to a greater union.

Above all things, what China needs and Chinese people want is peace and unity after eight years of war. This should be the message of the Church to the nation. But how can the Church

help China and the world to unite in peace if the house of the Church is itself divided or fails in the spirit of unity and co-operation?

The usual conception of an indigenous Church is one that is self-dependent, self-governed, self-propagated, and self-supported. But Christianity will never be indigenous unless it becomes part and parcel of the life and thought of the people. Not until the life and thought of Buddhism became an integral part of Chinese culture was it considered by the Chinese as indigenous. During the war years, the spirit of Christianity in Free China has permeated gradually the thought-life of the people like leaven. Biblical stories and characters have become themes for modern Chinese literature. An inspiring story of the life and death of Jesus was written by Mao-tung, a famed non-Christian Chinese writer. In one Kuomintang magazine, a series of articles advocated the building of a new culture for post-war China, on the basis of Dr. Sun's Three People's Principle, but permeated with the spirit of Christianity. Apprehensive of moral disintegration in war as well as in peace, a noted Chinese scholar appealed for moral awakening and the revival of Confucianism, but he concluded that the only way to bring Confucianism to life is by invoking or assimilating the spirit of Christianity. A Chinese Roman Catholic scholar wrote in *The Eastern Miscellany*, a most outstanding Chinese magazine, an article entitled, "Neo Confucianism and Christianity," in which he argued that the vitality of Neo-Confucianism is to be found in the fundamentals of Christianity, but true Christianity is found only in the Roman Catholic Church!

Secular presses in Free China are also interested in publishing Christian literature, a departure from the old policy. The Commercial Press in Free China published *A Treatise on the Roman Catholic Church*, written by a Catholic scholar, and Sharman's *Life of Christ*, translated by a member of the Litera-

ture Production Program sponsored by the National Christian Council and the Nanking Theological Seminary.

In spite of being pressed for time during the most hectic days of war, General Chiang Kai-shek worked painstakingly over a new translation of the Bible with Dr. John Wu, a Methodist lawyer who has embraced the Roman Catholic faith and is the newly appointed delegate of China to the Vatican. It is the Generalissimo's idea that the Word of God must be rendered in the best form, not only intelligible to the Chinese but also comparable to the great Chinese classics. If the Bible is to become the spring of the Chinese people's thought and action, its tone should not be tinged with an accent that is foreign to the Chinese mind and soul.

What a great role Christian literature is to play in the evangelization of China! The formation of the United Christian Publishers in Free China, now transferred to the Eastern Coast, is a decided forward step. The demand for Christian literature in Free China, in wartime as well as in peace, has never been met. The pitifully small number of Christian writers, the high cost of printing, and the difficulty of distribution will continue to be a handicap for the Christian literature program for some time to come.

Though various ways and means have been tried to bring the Bible into Free China, they did not meet the surprisingly large demand. In April, 1945, the three Bible Societies operating in China, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the American Bible Society, and the National Bible Society of Scotland, called together the all-China Ad Interim Advisory Council, composed of fifteen prominent Chinese Christian leaders resident in Chungking. Not since the first National Representative Convention of Bible Agencies, held in Shanghai April 2-4, 1937, has there been such a representative meeting of Chinese Chris-

tian leaders with the distinct purpose of furthering the interests of Bible production and distribution in China.

The Bible Societies signed contracts in Chungking for the printing of CN\$ 5,000,000.00 worth of scriptures. This includes 10,000 Chinese New Testaments, and 100,000 Gospel portions. About 100,000 Bible-reading bookmarks, listing thirty-three favorite chapters of the Bible, were distributed by the Christian Churches in Free China.

In the light of the changes mentioned above, the Church in Free China was brought face to face with those issues that may determine the course of the Christian movement in China for the next few decades. These issues concerned the Church in Free China in particular, though they are also now problems of the Church of China as a whole.

In the first place, the Church in the western provinces of China has to face the inflation. During the first part of the war, the giving of the Church increased thirty-five per cent, but the cost of living was 200 times the pre-war figure. Toward the latter part of the war, the average increase of the contributions to the Church in Free China was seventy-five per cent, but the cost of living was 4,000 times pre-war. After VJ Day, the repatriation of refugees and the evacuation of the Government offices and schools did not tend to lower the price of commodities in West China. In fact, it is still soaring. With the withdrawal of Christians who came from occupied areas, the giving of the Church in West China has decreased perceptibly in some places. During the war, a large number of city churches were self-supporting but many of them now will have to receive a subsidy from the missions. Very few rural churches in China are self-supporting, since village economy is not yet highly developed. If self-support is the goal of missionary enterprise, special emphasis should be placed on the building of city churches. But the population of China is eighty per cent

rural. In view of the present economic situation in China, the attempt to make self-support the goal toward which all should strive is a very difficult one.

In the second place, the Church in West China is facing a most serious problem, the lack of Christian leaders or workers. During the war, many workers left their posts and entered into business or other secular forms of service because of the high cost of living. Many churches and Church activities both in occupied areas and in Free China have been forced to close down. How to reclaim these lost workers is therefore an urgent problem for the post-war Church. But even if a certain number of such former workers are reclaimed and restored to the Church, the Church will still be faced with a great shortage of workers, because of the new opportunities for expansion and service after the war. The situation of the Church in West China has now become precarious, owing to the great exodus of Christian workers who had affiliated themselves with the Churches during their sojourn there. Some new projects created or initiated by these workers have had to be dropped because of their departure. The delay of the return of missionaries to their posts has made the condition even more difficult. Toward the latter part of the war, the total number of missionaries in Free China was less than 1,000, as against more than 6,000 before the war and as against 6,092 Roman Catholic missionaries who remained in China at that time. The Church cannot afford to let the golden opportunity for the expansion of God's Kingdom slip away. Therefore, the reinforcement of both Chinese and missionary forces is necessary. The question of training new workers, both professional and lay, must be adequately faced. The movement for recruiting Christian workers, and the laymen's movement started in Free China, must be continued and strongly supported.

In the third place, the issue of religious liberty must be faced

frankly, and squarely. In Free China there were two areas, the area under the control of the National Government and the area under the control of the Chinese Communists. In occupied areas, the Church was under the surveillance of the Japanese militarists, having very little freedom. In communist areas, few religious activities have been allowed. It is in the areas under the National Government that the Church has been able to carry on its work and to expand. An Interfaith Fellowship, which has as its members Protestants, Catholics, Mohammedans, and Buddhists, was formed with the sole purpose of safeguarding religious liberty. Though freedom of faith is prescribed in the Chinese constitution, its application and practice depend on the kind of government China is going to have. If Communists should be in power, it is very likely that religious liberty would be restricted or even forfeited. Among the four political parties, the Communist, the Democratic League, the Youth Party, and the Nationalist, most of the members of the first three are either indifferent or opposed to religion. In a democracy, the majority rules. Christians are still a minority in China. Including the Roman Catholics, they are only one per cent of the population. But the united front, as advocated by the Interfaith Fellowship, may become a tremendous force in the struggle for freedom of faith which is one of the Four Freedoms and the inalienable right of the individual in a democracy.

In the fourth place, the Church must deal with the question of youth in a new way. Before the war, the Youth Movement, sponsored by the Church or under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., almost monopolized the whole field. Now, various political parties throughout the country have entered this field of youth. Pulled from various directions, the Chinese youth is often bewildered and confused. In time of war, youth flocked to the Church, because the Church had something to

offer, such as wartime service, a cause for which they are willing to make sacrifices. Youth wants adventure and something challenging. We are apt to prepare our youth to live within the existing social order and have failed to inspire them with a new philosophy of life and society. The teaching of our Lord concerning individual and group life should be made challenging, and the extension of God's Kingdom throughout the world should become the cause for which our youth will be willing to live and even to die. Many youths at present are disillusioned and standing at the cross-roads. How to help and lead frustrated youth and hopeless intellectuals should engage the most serious attention of the Church. Missionary specialists on youth work should be enlisted. The Youth and Religion Campaign must go on. The Church and Alumni Movement will continue to play an important part in winning and reclaiming the youths who have been under Christian influence.

Lastly, it is incumbent upon the Church to face honestly and courageously the grave moral issues of the time. We recognize the fact that there is always a period of moral deterioration after a war. From war we often reap disease of the body as well as disease of the soul. The corruption of officialdom, the prevalence of black markets, and the avarice of war profiteers are only the symptoms of a sick soul. As has been said above, the Church in China has earned for herself a unique position; her views and reactions are being sought. On these moral issues however, the voice of the Church is still weak. Let the Church have no uncertain sound. It is the time for a clarion call, if the Church is to address a message with prophetic insight to a nation that has partly emerged from a nightmare of war and has not yet fully recovered either physically or spiritually. We believe the Church in China will always maintain her position as God's prophet in leading his people to peace and freedom, righteousness and justice, life and happiness.

JAPAN¹*Charles Iglehart*

THE CHRISTIAN movement in Japan has had a history of crisis from its very beginning. It has moved with its nation from one phase to the next, each phase leaving its stratum in the subsoil of the Church's life.

Ninety years ago, when Protestant foreign missions came to Japan, and eighty years ago, when the Church was coming to birth, the Japanese were an ancient people of Asia, their country being suddenly opened to Western influence. The Church was at once an extension of Western Christianity and an expression of vital Christian experience in terms of Asiatic personality and social form. Christianity in Japan is still one of the "Younger Churches." It is historically the product of the foreign mission of the older Churches. Related by ties of personal acquaintance, of financial aid, and of traditional organization to the Churches of the West, it has been viewed as somewhat alien by the Japanese public. It has belonged to two worlds.

It is a small Church, judged by the scale of its Buddhist or Shinto contemporaries. Scarcely a quarter of a million members served by two thousand clergy would be a fair estimate of its peak size in the mid 'thirties. That comes to less than one to three hundred of population.

But Japan did not remain merely one of the ancient peoples of Asia, and the Church has moved in the forefront of the

¹ This chapter appeared in *Christendom*, Winter, 1947.

nation in its adoption of a modern way of life and the acceptance of a place in a world society. If the Church found difficulty penetrating the rural life of Japan, at least it was at home in town and city life. It breathed the cosmopolitanism of the capitals, and spread easily among the middle classes who make up the web of modern societies.

The membership was intelligent and literate. The quality of leadership was really conspicuous, in the cases of men and of women, of ministers, and of educators, and of social workers. The scope of interest of the Protestant Churches in Japan was substantially as wide as that of sister Churches of the West. Its ecumenical relations were genuine and much prized.

Although strong educational institutions have grown up within the Christian movement, they have not overshadowed the Churches. Nor have the standards of qualifications for the ministry been inferior to those of the staffs of schools and colleges. Considerable numbers of men and women of promise after study abroad have returned to resume their work inconspicuously with their colleagues in Church or school or settlement. Missionaries have worked happily in a swiftly maturing situation of Christian co-operation.

But Japan did not remain merely a modern nation normally related to world life. It moved on to aspire to empire. Indeed, it became empire in fact as well as name. And it did this through a succession of successful wars. Not since before the turn of the century have the Japanese people had time to stop and take breath. One war led to another, with a continuous spiral of expansion. Industry at home and territory abroad have piled up to gigantic proportions. The tensions upon the island nation have been terrific, necessitating a thorough overhauling of the structure of the State. This revolution, although largely accomplished without bloodshed, has been the major fact of Japanese

life since 1931. It was inevitable that the Christian Churches should be deeply influenced by it. They have, for fifteen years, been living in the atmosphere of a typhoon.

At the vortex was the virtual deification of the nation by the promotion of the State cult of Shinto, at the court and at public shrines, as well as throughout the school system. For years, the Churches protested against this public employment of a voluntary faith to promote national ends. But, as the pressure increased, the Church officially availed itself of the government interpretation of attendance at the shrines as extra-religious, and advised the members to conform.

In the summer of 1940, the national crisis took an acute turn involving the Christian movement. Whether justifiably or not, the nation thought it was in danger of its life and that total national unity must be achieved at all costs. This view was generally shared by the Christians, who gave basic consent to the pressures exerted by government, even though these meant fundamental changes in the Church's life. Regimentation was the order of the hour, and it was accepted by the Churches, almost all of which, in June, 1941, united in the Church of Christ in Japan. Indeed, throughout the war years, the official attitude of the Church was one of unquestioning co-operation with the State.

There were individuals who, as heads of schools or as ministers, gave their unyielding witness to the primacy of Jesus Christ over all other authorities, and they suffered for their faith by repeated detentions, investigations, imprisonment, and, in the case of a number of persons, of death in prison or soon after release. The issue was usually over belief in the second coming of Christ as judge and ruler on earth, as in the case of nearly three hundred Holiness Church leaders, and of about thirty Seventh-Day Adventists. Several bishops of the Anglican Episcopal Church also were detained and in-

vestigated for refusing to join the united Church of Christ in Japan.

The political situation naturally led to the elimination of foreign missionaries from positions of administration. Since Japan's affiliation was with the Axis powers and most of the Protestant missionaries were from the United Kingdom and the United States, all ecumenical ties were broken. Soon actual war rendered communications impossible and isolated the Japanese Church within its own society.

Under the Religious Bodies Law of 1940, Christianity was now one of the three "recognized" religions of Japan—a status devoutly appreciated by this little minority who had always had to struggle against the stigma of being different from the rest of the community. Never outlawed, they were nevertheless not quite fully accepted by Japanese society at large.

The new position, however, carried with it new responsibilities to the nation now engaged in the grimmest struggle of its history. In association with the Federated Buddhist and Shinto organizations, the Christian Church was expected to implement its sanction of the war-effort by theological rationalization. It was to maintain morale by the use of all its resources, encouraging the public to attain ever greater degrees of sacrifice and loyalty. The early victories of 1941 and 1942 were celebrated in the churches by services of thanksgiving, and prayers for greater ones were publicly offered.

Ministers and some laymen with training overseas and knowledge of foreign languages were mobilized and sent to the Asiatic Continent and the Pacific Islands to accompany the armies. Their work in China, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia was that of liaison with the religious communities in those newly acquired outposts of empire. The more seasoned leaders were used in Korea, Manchuria, and North China to

effect unification of Churches similar to that of the Church in Japan.

With the turn of the tides of war, the Church in Japan went through the same experiences as the rest of the nation. The first expectations of victory gradually faded, and the first ominous sounds of approaching disaster could be heard by sensitive ears. Presently, the home islands had become battlefields under the mass bombing and burning of the Allied enemy forces.

The available records of the last year of war, from the summer of 1944 to 1945, are limited to the meager files of but three or four Christian periodicals, but they are sufficient to show the picture of a Christian Church bravely ministering to the people. The grandiose interpretations of Japan's role in the reconstruction of Asia are forgotten in the preoccupation with the misery, the fears, and the bewilderment of a people who had never known defeat or successful invasion, but were about to taste the bitterness of both.

Not all the sacrifices of Shinto nor the masses before the ornate altars of Buddhism, nor the prayers in the Christian churches could give Japan the victory. But in the fateful months before the surrender, the deeper resources of the Christian faith shone in a new splendor, as in editorials and in reported sermons and lectures the problems of suffering, of defeat, and of death are given answers in terms of the purposes and providence of God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

Following the defeat of the Japanese navy in 1944, a discussion arose in the Diet on the question whether the gods could be angry at their own people, and might be punishing them by defeat. In the official periodical of the Church of Christ, a series of editorials gave the Christian rationale of suffering and of defeat. And when, in 1945, the nation was sending its "kamikaze troops" to certain death in a desperation of resis-

tance, articles appeared in the same Church organ setting forth the idea of God, the Father of Jesus Christ, who in Calvary showed the meaning of suffering, fearlessness of death, and of a certain expectation of eternal life. One editorial on the suffering love of God was especially noteworthy.

A new humility and integrity are seen coming to the surface, and they are the more convincing because they are of the essential genius of the Christian faith that hitherto had been warped by the pressures and exigencies of the war effort.

When one remembers the depths out of which this voice of Christian comfort and leadership came the marvel is the greater. In the desperation of the struggle during 1943 and 1944, every possible resource of property, plant, and personnel was swept into service. Church buildings had to be offered to the community for a variety of neighborhood uses. In some instances, it was impracticable to reserve even one hour a week for a worship service.

Ministers were mobilized for work in industry, as morale officers, or even as laborers in factories. The same was true of entire faculties and student bodies of Christian schools. Almost every legitimate activity of the Christian movement was dislocated or abruptly stopped.

As the dreaded raids became more incessant and landings were feared, rumors spread that Japanese Christians would be the points of contact for the invaders, that they had always been spies and their loyalty always doubtful. Although these false charges were indignantly repudiated by Christian spokesmen, they had their effects in diminished attendance at services.

When the deluge of fire came, it engulfed the churches and parsonages with the rest. Of the two thousand church buildings, five hundred were destroyed. These were mostly in the cities and larger towns which were the arterial centers for Japanese life and for Church life as well. In many cases, the whole parish

was obliterated along with the church which served it. After fleeing with his family from their burning parsonage, one pastor in Tokyo tells of going back to call on his parishioners. Out of seventy-eight families, he could find only six that had found shelter somewhere in the vicinity. He had to house his family in a single room in the suburbs. That was typical of conditions in many of the churches from January to August of 1945.

Yet, even under these trials the Christian Church continued to give its witness to the sustaining grace of God, and it lifted its voice in condemnation of the moral weaknesses showing in Japanese society under the strains.

The young Christian movement in Japan had already undergone the experiences of modernization and industrialization of society, of being a part of expanding empire, and then of a desperate war effort. It now went hurtling with its people into defeat, surrender, and occupation.

The announcement of surrender was made by the Emperor in his broadcast of August 15, 1945. The shock it caused can scarcely be described. It had been felt by many that defeat was inevitable, but no one dreamed of an immediate cessation of resistance. Indeed, even after hearing the broadcast, many persons did not know that it meant surrender, and would not believe it. Another two weeks brought the occupying enemy forces to a terrified people. Humiliation, despair, exhaustion, and nervous overstrain marked the days of the late Summer and early Autumn.

The Christian Churches seem to have been among the first to come out of the near-trauma that lay upon the nation. Under the premiership of Prince Higashi-Kuni, the position of special counselor was given to Toyohiko Kagawa, and at once the influence of his versatile personality was felt. Christian leaders

were called into conference and their help besought for the reconstruction of Japanese society.

A "Movement for Contrition" was launched. This came to nothing because, though it was a sound insight on the part of the Christians, it was promoted by the government, which thus laid itself open to the charge of hypocrisy for having first led the people into a war and then calling on them to repent of it.

During the war, the Church of Christ in Japan had put its authority into the hands of a small group of officers. First it was an executive committee; then a smaller special executive committee; then, under emergency rulings, the final decisions were left to the single director of the Church. Such a concentration of authority seems to have been desired by no one, but it reflects the impossibility of travel first from distant regions to Tokyo, and later even from one part of Tokyo to another. Also, the lack of printed communications was a complicating factor.

One of the first acts of the occupation authorities was to direct the rescinding of the Religious Bodies Law under which the Christian Churches had been supervised. In place of it, a very simple Religious Corporations Ordinance was promulgated, permitting the registration of any religious body with the right of property holding, the propriety of its activities to be left to the ordinary procedure of the civil or criminal codes, and no discretion given the government to pass on the suitability of its teachings.

This was only one aspect of the general policy of encouragement of democratic action adopted by the occupation authorities. Perhaps the central issue was that of the relation of Shinto to the State, through public shrines, schools, and the imperial court. In December, this was dealt with by a clear separation of this and all other religions from public administration, funds, or ceremonies. This placed all religious activities upon a common level, and gave to the Japanese Christian

Church, for the first time in its history, every right accorded other faiths, without the restrictions and detailed regulations of government jurisdiction.

These gains were so great that a Catholic leader in Nagasaki referred to the havoc caused by the atomic bomb as the "great sacrifice by which we have won the marvellous gift of full religious liberty." The last Christian leaders still in confinement under the Defense of the Realm Act were released. Christian periodicals from that time on evidence an attitude of freedom of thinking in contrast to the conventional themes and treatment of public issues of the wartime period. The entire weight of editorial writing in the Church papers has been that of an intelligent and enthusiastic support of voluntary, democratic procedures in both politics and religion.

Inasmuch as the Christian movement in Japan is now functioning in a controlled society, it is to some extent conditioned by the nature of that control, just as during the war it responded to the controls exercised by the Japanese government and society. There have been many fears that a military occupation would operate unfavorably to the Christian Churches. This might be either through oppressive measures, or contrariwise through a too close association with the alien power, with the inevitable reactions from public thought.

These fears have thus far not been realized. Instead, there has been achieved, almost from the day of occupation, a degree of mutuality and rapport that is scarcely believable. The Japanese women representing the W.C.T.U., who met the first detachments of American troops with tea and refreshments, were as surprised at the gentlemanly behavior of the men as the men were at their courtesy. Leaving aside individual exceptions, the general reaction between the occupation forces and the Japanese populace has been such that there has been no taboo upon mutual co-operation.

Freedom of interplay between the authorities and the Christian movement owes much to the personal attitude of the commanding general, Douglas MacArthur. Since his initial broadcast on the occasion of the surrender, he has lost no opportunity to express his interest in religious concerns as well as his belief in the essential integrity of the Japanese people. This is generally known; so that Japanese Christian leaders have availed themselves of the favorable attitude understood to exist at headquarters.

A similar kindliness on the part of regional commanders has frequently been reported, as well as many informal favors and privileges granted to local churches or Christian institutions.

Another encouragement to the Churches has come through the activities of the chaplains. Although their official duties lie solely with the Allied personnel, they have in innumerable instances found time and interest to devote to helping the Japanese churches and schools. In some cases, the help has been of a permanent nature, as in the establishment of the new Japan Bible Seminary in Tokyo. A course of lectures on Christianity, delivered by the chief of chaplains, Ivan Bennett, at the Nippon University, attracted national attention.

This mutual co-operation has made possible the early renewal of fellowship with the Churches of the West. Four representatives of the American Churches were permitted to enter Japan as early as October, and their visit did wonders in restoring morale and a sense of belonging to the world Church on the part of the Japanese Christian movement.² Ties were maintained through the few former missionaries who were with the Allied personnel, till the arrival of the first resident representatives of the missions in the Spring.

² The deputation was sent by American organizations in the Ecumenical Movement. Editor.

Deputations from England and Canada have since added their strands to the living cords that are now binding the Japanese movement into the world Christian fabric.

In early June, 1946, the General Assembly of the Church of Christ in Japan was held. The problems before that body chart the course of the Church for immediately coming days. First there is the matter of subsistence for ministers and members. The ruin in Japan is colossal—not only its physical destruction, but still more the disruption of life by the surrender and occupation. Wartime activities were abnormal, to be sure, but they were activities and they provided work and income for everyone.

All that momentum was stopped at full speed, leaving a churning chaos, loss of direction, and a baffled waiting for orders. This was true in the fields of industry, of finance, of politics, of education, of relief and welfare, and of all other societal activities.

Inflation has added its own particular aggravation to all other problems, and with it the practices of the black market and the government's counter measures of freezing and control. In the midst of this complex condition of affairs, the pastors and many member-families are without adequate food, clothing, or shelter. The Church, with its slender resources, is trying to deal with this problem.

Associated with the matter of subsistence is that of at least a temporary reconstruction of lost properties. The scattered congregations of Japan are giving pathetic testimony to their need and longing for some sanctuary, be it merely a barrack-shed, where they can find a corporate center for their Church life. That is being grappled with, though inflation varying from thirty to one hundred times, the freezing of currency, and the scarcity and control of building materials make the difficulties almost insurmountable.

On the scale of national planning, the Church of Christ in Japan is making its own structural adjustments to the new Japan. The constitution is being revised. This is not merely by the lopping off of the bureau of East Asia affairs, or the dropping of the work of the indoctrination bureau, but by a thorough change in the locus of authority. It is being shifted from the one director—an office now abolished—to the Moderator of the General Assembly with a large executive committee, and particularly to the seventeen Districts with their subordinate organizations.

The personnel of leadership has not greatly changed. After five years of arduous and faithful service as Moderator-Director, Mitsuru Tomita has been succeeded by the irenic Congregational pastor, Michio Kozaki, well known in Christian circles beyond Japan. Of the thirty persons comprising the new Executive Committee, two-thirds are the familiar, tested leaders, while about one-third are younger men who give promise of future leadership.

Within the Church of Christ in Japan have been two groups whose inclusion was not altogether from voluntary desire. They are the former Salvation Army and certain portions of the Anglican Episcopal Church. Both are completing a withdrawal with full understanding and good will, in order to close their ranks and resume their work as separate bodies.

It remains for the future to show whether the temporarily adopted revised constitution will still hold, or whether a larger degree of autonomy for the former constituent denominational groupings will be restored, as in 1941, when the Church was first formed. It is also possible that there may be further denominational withdrawals. In any event, it appears that the Church is viewed by all as a genuine Church, with bonds of common faith and work strong enough to hold it together in permanence.

No reliable statistics for the Churches are available. It is believed that during the war the active membership dropped to about one-half. A year after the war ended, it was on the upturn, but has not reached the pre-war level. This, however, is no index of the attendance at worship services, much less of the expectancy of Japanese society with regard to the Christian religion. With the shattering of the national hopes, the national gods have gone into the twilight. The people are longing for direction and spiritual anchorage. They believe that in the universal sweep of the Christian message there may be for them a gospel of life. Christian meetings are largely attended, and all ministers report opportunities for work far beyond their ability to meet.

The Christian schools all suffered from the wartime pressures, and during the latter years could scarcely carry on educational work at all. In this, they simply shared the fate of all other schools in the country. Most of them, too, modified their distinctive Christian observances, chapel services, and Bible instruction, though there were some that did maintain these throughout the war. But the schools did survive, and virtually all came through without financial embarrassment. Now the full Christian witness has been resumed. In some cases, changes in leadership are taking place. In general, the educational work of the Church is full of hope and promise for the future, though the restoration of lost physical plants is a problem of major proportions.

The affiliated agencies of the Christian movement underwent changes of organization and severe reduction of program during the war. Publishing was cut down to almost nothing. Bible production was at a minimum, nationally organized youth work virtually disappeared, and Sunday Schools could hardly operate.

With the end of the war, one by one these related activities

of the Churches have been coming back to life. The recovery has scarcely more than begun, since Japan is still in a state of partial paralysis. In some respects, society is far worse stricken than during the height of the war. But, notwithstanding the present difficulties and privations, most of the former Christian affiliated agencies are resuming their work. In this they are receiving the active aid of the Churches of the West. Gifts of large numbers of Japanese Bibles and hymnals, and the promise of relief funds and supplies are substantial encouragement to recovery.

Missionaries are desired and invited by the Japanese Church. A committee on Home and Foreign Co-operation is the channel for maintaining contacts, and in joint conference with missionary representatives is now at work on specific plans and requests. In the "three-year-forward movement" just initiated, it is hoped that visiting speakers and leaders from overseas will have a full share.

Organizational integration with the world Christian movement has still to be worked out, though there is no question of the intention of the Japanese Churches to accomplish it. It is as yet too early to predict the actual structure that will emerge. There may be a regrouping of the Churches and the affiliated agencies as formerly in the National Christian Council. This would naturally form a constituent part of the International Missionary Council as heretofore.

Membership in the World Council of Churches might possibly operate through some such body as a federation of Churches, including the Church of Christ in Japan, the Anglican Episcopal, and any other existing Protestant Churches, though as yet no such action has been taken. A revived National Christian Council would seem to be the more likely organ for co-operation.

The Japanese Christian movement bears in its life today all

the varied and critical experiences through which it has passed in its comparatively short life-history. All the stratifications we have indicated are there to give it a distinctive individuality. Yet, at its heart, it shares the experiences of the Church Universal and of the classic Christian tradition. It belongs fully to ecumenical Christianity, and in that mighty movement it should have a worthy share.

3

KOREA

William C. Kerr

THE POST-WAR condition of the Church in Korea needs to be seen against the background of the years immediately prior to and during the war. Further back than that one need not go, as the progress of Christianity in Korea from the time the Protestant missionaries began work there is already written in large letters in the history of Christian missions.

With the gathering of black clouds over the Pacific, the individuals and groups in Korea that had been most closely associated with Westerners became suspect to the Japanese government. Naturally the lightning fell first on the Christians. Thinly concealed efforts were made to wean the Korean Church away from all Western associations, and the missionaries who chose to remain found themselves isolated. Part of the cleavage was caused by the mission bodies themselves, some of which broke ties with the native Church because it had so largely fallen in with the wishes of the government on the shrine question.

Many conditions operated against the carrying on of Church work. Standing in long queues to get food, training in civilian defence, attending patriotic meetings on Sunday, added to a subtle campaign to set Korean against Korean, were tremendous handicaps to church and Sunday School attendance.

There was constant surveillance of Church meetings, the contents of sermons were carefully scrutinized, and minute

reports had to be made of church activities. Doctrines which in any way seemed to come in conflict with the supremacy of the State were not to be discussed. Over the question of the Second Coming of Christ some of the smaller denominations were completely dissolved. Under pressure from above, and, to put it most charitably, inspired with the desire to avert a direct attack on the Church, some of the leaders went so far as to put a Shinto veneer on Christianity, at the same time disavowing its Jewish background.

In some of these matters, conditions were the same for Japanese Christians as for Koreans. However, in addition to the religious difficulties, the Koreans were involved in racial antipathies. With national ancestors of whom they were proud, they had no desire to acknowledge the Japanese imperial lineage as their own. However, it proved possible for the Japanese Church in Korea to afford some protection to the Korean bodies, little though the Koreans wanted to merge their identity in Japanese Christianity.

With the oncoming of war, these conditions became all the more acute. The few missionaries who had not left the country were interned. Koreans who had been abroad were almost sure to be subject to police detention. Orders for churches and Church Schools to attend shrine observances came with greater regularity; and the few who held out against them found not only themselves but the other members of their families faced with great hardships. All services had to begin with obeisance toward the imperial palace in Tokyo. Hymns were torn from the hymnals or blackened out, and sermons based on the books of Daniel and Revelation were prohibited. Schools were forced to give up their teaching of Christianity and Christian worship.

While not a favorable word can be spoken for all this governmental pressure on the Church, one proposal that originated with officialdom is at least debatable. Just before the end of the

war, high officials gave their backing to a movement for Church union.

Actually, the government had not had the first word in this matter. For some ten years back, representatives of the different denominations had been considering the matter, and, about five years before, an influential group tried to start what they called a Revolutionary Church. However, some of its proposals were so radical, both in administration and doctrine, that they got little support from the Church at large, and the matter was dropped. Further, the government was against union then, fearing the centralization of power in a body that had as great an amount of potential political power as did the Christian Church.

The government also refused to approve union with the Japanese Church, as that might be a screen under which the Koreans could act with too great freedom. As a matter of fact, neither did the Japanese Church favor such a union, as they would then be greatly outnumbered by the more numerous body of Korean Christians; while the Koreans themselves did not want to surrender what autonomy they had in their Church life—practically the last bit of autonomy left to Koreans in any sphere. In Korean experience, what always happened when they united with Japanese in any movement whatever, was that leadership naturally gravitated to the Japanese side.

Even when the government did seem to favor union in those earlier days, the Koreans felt that a Japanese would necessarily be put in charge of the Church. The Koreans could not always be sure just what were the desires and intentions of the government. Further, a change of officials might result in a change of policy. At all events, the Koreans are sure of this, that the policy over a period of thirty years had been to set one group of Koreans against another—to “divide and conquer”—to help one side until it became too strong and then to help the other.

However, in the end, the government did come out unreservedly for union. On July 17, 1945, the Vice-Governor General, at the time of the visit of a leading representative of the Japanese Church, summoned representatives of the different Korean Christian denominations and urged them to unite. One explanation given for this action is that it was an effort to offset reports throughout the world that Japan was oppressing the Korean Church. After consultation by committees, several of the denominations decided in favor of the union, feeling that it was something that they had really looked forward to, even though it was being brought to a head by outside pressure.

The Presbyterian and Methodist Churches and the Salvation Army, which by this time had been reorganized as a Church, entered the union. It was intended that the Salvation Army would do the social service work for the whole body. The Holiness and the Seventh-Day Adventist Churches had already been dissolved by governmental orders and, therefore, could not consult as bodies, though members of the former did enter the union as individuals. The Church of England, the only other Protestant body of any size, decided against entering the union.

The decision for union was made on July 20th, 1945. Votes for moderator were taken by ballot but, without announcing the result of the vote, the Director of the Bureau of Education appointed the Rev. Kim Kwansik to the position. The name given the united church was "The Japanese Christian Church of Korea." In spite of the form taken by this name, the newly formed body had no organic connection with the Church of Christ in Japan. The formation of the new body was not made known throughout the country. Actually, it began operations on August 1st, but the negotiations were brought to an abrupt end by the termination of the war on August 15th and the removal of Japanese pressure.

There had been consultation about uniting the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Holiness Seminaries in Seoul, but this action was not consummated. The two former continued their separate existences, while the last was forced to close at the time when the Church was dissolved.

The Korean Young Men's Christian Association had already been reorganized as a branch of the Japanese Association. Even so, the two associations in Seoul continued to conduct their work separately, though there was an interlocking Board of Directors. This relationship was of real service to the Korean branch, as without the advice and help of Japanese members they could hardly have weathered the storms of the wartime years.

The ugly word "collaboration" echoes in Korea as in so many other countries. The charge could be brought against most of those who were in positions of authority in the Church during those difficult years. One thing to remember in trying to judge the Korean situation is that it was not a country that had been overrun of recent date, but was merely waiting for a tide of war that would wash the invader out again. Korea had been part of the Japanese Empire since 1910, and had been dominated by Japan for some years before that. So far as anyone could see, she was destined to continue as part of the empire indefinitely. Of course, there were groups that never gave up the hope of securing independence, and the whole populace had a vague hope that sometime something might happen that would restore Korea to the Koreans again. But, on the whole, the Korean just had to find out how to live along with his Japanese neighbor, and more and more pressure was put on him to become Japanese himself, adopt a Japanese name, acknowledge the Japanese ancestors as his own, use the Japanese language, and in all ways prepare himself to share in the life of the nation

that was presumably destined to be the leader of the Orient and eventually, perhaps, of the whole world.

Face to face with this situation, then, the Christian Church among other institutions in the country had to work out a *modus vivendi*. The pressure came in varying measure on different individuals. The leaders, naturally, had to bear the brunt, and some of them more than others. Of only an occasional one is it said that he intended to be a traitor to his race. Of some it is said that they went further than they had to go. One who charges another with being a collaborationist may a few days later be given the same term of opprobrium by still another, or by the very man whom he had already accused. All are living in glass houses—an area where it is dangerous to start throwing stones! Perhaps no more can be asked than that all acknowledge the share that they had in compromise, wait for forgiveness, and then make a fresh start. Certainly, it is not for outsiders who have not shared as Koreans in the dangers of these difficult years, with no way of escape, to stand as judges of their consciences.

It is still an open question whether the pressure that was brought to bear on the Christian Church in Korea by the Japanese government was religious persecution or not. A clear-cut answer is next to impossible. Such a doctrine as that of the Creation or the Second Coming may be purely a matter of religion to the Christian, while to the proponent of Japanese nationalism it would be a challenge to the supremacy of the Japanese State or the Emperor. The high officials might insist that State Shintoism was merely a matter of politics and patriotism, while a local official would still treat it as a religious matter and so present it to the person whom he was interrogating that there was nothing left for the latter but to make his answer on a religious basis and suffer the consequences. Not only Protestant but Catholic, also, felt the difficulty, and, in fact,

almost all organized groups of Koreans were under suspicion of carrying on antigovernmental activities beneath the surface. Perhaps all that can be said is that, in the main, it was an attempt of the government to make sure that no subversive action was going on but that in many individual cases it did become a matter of religious persecution, so clearly so that the individual had no choice but to follow his conscience and stand out against the government.

The conclusion of the war brought tremendous relief to Korean society in general and to the Christian community in particular. It meant the end of police surveillance and the pressure of Shintoism, the release of many who had been imprisoned for the faith that was in them. It meant the dawn of that religious freedom for which they had been hoping so long. However, release brought a new set of problems that were not long in manifesting themselves.

No attempt will be made here to assess conditions in North Korea, as this would necessarily bring up political questions which are beyond the scope of this discussion. More than this, adequate evidence for what is happening behind the veil is extremely difficult to obtain.

As the organization of the united Church had not been completed at the time of the surrender, its status was in great uncertainty. One party insisted that such a body was in existence, while another denied it. An answer to this question would have to be based on intention rather than on accomplished fact. The moderator continued to maintain an office. The name of the church was changed to "The Korean Christian Church." An Assembly which convened on October 20, 1945 did not produce a quorum. However, at a mass-meeting held immediately afterward a committee was appointed to consult on future measures, and, as a result, an Assembly for the South alone was convened on November 27th. Some sec-

tions had not received word, and others hesitated to send representatives. However, 175 delegates did assemble, and, while the procedure was hardly according to the letter of the law, it was decided to organize a Church to be called "The South Synod of Korea Christian Church." Those who urged going back to denominational organizations and then having overtures for union come from them, if desired, argued against the new Church, but did not vote against it.

In spite of this vote for union, seven Presbyteries were re-established in the south. On January 25, 1946, the Methodist group met and voted for the reorganization of the Methodist Church, and also for the reopening of the Methodist Theological Seminary. However, there was sentiment in favor of continuing with the united Church, so that opinion is still divided.

It had been anticipated that the different bodies would have meetings in the spring of 1946 at which it would be decided whether the united Church would be maintained or the bodies would revert to their denominational status. No such clear-cut decision has been reached. Both Presbyterian and Methodist bodies, the largest of the Churches involved, are divided in their sentiment toward union—at least, the union as it stands now. Further, not all the Presbyteries see their way clear to joining in a Presbyterian General Assembly for the South, as they feel that the leaders have been discredited by wartime collaboration. These same leaders, however, feel that the participation in Shinto observances and similar matters was so general, differing only in degree, that such "purging" is impractical. In fact, they think that those who left their posts rather than be obliged to give obeisance at the shrines are to be condemned as much as those who stood at their posts and compromised. The only ones clear are those who submitted to prison sentences rather than yield.

While a united Church, entered into by all, seems impossible for the present, it is proposed that the National Christian Council be revived. This might be a step on the way toward eventual union; or it might be as far as the different denominations were willing to go.

There is a great dearth of pastors, and this is a serious handicap to progress. In many places the sacraments have not been administered for years. It is just possible that the influx of fugitive pastors from the north will help to solve the problem. There is a call for a more youthful leadership, in view of the partial discrediting of the older leadership. But it will take time to train these new workers. Fortunately, the seminaries are being attended by fairly large numbers of enthusiastic young people, men and women alike. At the same time, the return of missionaries to Korea has begun. For the present, those who formerly worked in the north will be forced to give their time and attention to the south, and so a most intensive work will be possible in this region. However, it will be some time before anything like the previous number of missionaries will be in the field.

Other organizations than the Church itself are being restored rapidly. The Christian Literature Society still has its building. So far, little more has been done than selling books in stock. The Bible Society, after having recovered from an abortive attempt to make it independent with Korean funds just before the war, is being reconstituted and is selling stock on hand. Both of these Societies will have to begin new printing soon if they are to have anything further to sell. Up to this time, only one printing firm has procured newsprint and other supplies necessary for printing Christian literature in quantity. For Bibles, the Church has had to depend on the supply sent out by the American Bible Society; while the Korean Church in Japan

is endeavoring to reproduce the hymnal in large quantities by photostatic process.

Sunday School work is very promising. Even non-Christian homes realize that now they can let their children attend without being subject to penalties from a hostile officialdom. A Young Peoples' Christian League, with membership limits of nineteen to forty in age, is organizing branches all through the country, and finding an enthusiastic response. There are already more branches in South Korea than there were before the war. The youth are not interested in reviving denominations. Whatever the future may bring, they feel that united effort is the order of the day; and, even though the denominations break up the union, the youth wish to go on together. They feel, too, as intimated above, that they must take over the reins of leadership as so many of the older pastors and leaders became involved in relations with the former government. It is the intention of the League to assist in building up the Church and to work for society in general.

The National Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association was reorganized in November, 1945. By Spring, eight city associations and twelve student associations had been formed. The Young Women's Christian Association, which had reached a low ebb during the war, is undergoing reorganization.

Various bodies have been organized to carry on social service, and are being served by an enthusiastic leadership. Christian schools are now free to resume their previous Christian status. The restoration may not be a simple process. In many cases, mission schools have gone into the hands of groups that are not particularly interested in having the Christian program restored. This is a problem that will have to be worked out with the gradual return of the missionary forces. Education in Korea faces an era of great expansion, and the Christian

school will share in this development. As it is probable that the public school system will not allow for religious teaching, the responsibility of the Christian schools becomes all the greater.

Something new in Korea is the presence of Christian chaplains in all of the prisons in the south. The religious and educational work of these institutions is in their hands. While there is a supervising committee on which the other religions are also represented, the actual carrying out of the work is left in the hands of the Christian chaplains. The prison populace has given indications that this is their desire.

The Christians among the million odd Koreans left in Japan have started the reorganization of a Church in that land. Of eleven congregations formerly in Tokyo, only one congregation, in which all unite, is left. There are now eleven churches in the whole of Japan and only three of these have pastors. During the war they were forced by the government to join the Japanese Church; now they intend to maintain an independent existence, making contact with the sister Churches in Korea as soon as communications are open.

The only threat to religious freedom in Korea now is found in the influences that come down from the north. After having been under a government that maintained the closest surveillance over Church activities, the Korean Church now finds itself under a government that has declared for a *laissez-faire* policy. Other religious bodies share in this new-found freedom, and are planning for aggressive action against the common enemies of irreligion and antireligion. It is the general feeling that Christianity has the best chance to lead the country, if it is to be led by religious forces and not by something else. The individual churches are gaining in attendance, membership, and contributions. What is essential is that the right leadership come to the fore.

Busy with the tremendous problems and opportunities that

face it right in its own land, the Korean Church is not able yet to turn to the broader questions of its relationship to the Church throughout the world. Ecumenicity is a question for the future. When the needed foundations have been laid at home there is no doubt that the Church will face these broader obligations. The history of the Christian movement in Korea is a guarantee of that statement. One of these days, the Korean Church, or the Korean Churches, if the united front proves impossible, will seek and be entitled to a place on the World Council of Churches. When that time comes, may it not be a Southern Korea alone that presents itself, but a whole Korea, united again after great tribulation, and so imbued with the spirit of Christ that it will play a part greater than its size would indicate in the spiritual leadership of the Orient.

THE EAST INDIES

E. A. A. de Vreede

ACTUALLY, there are several causes which prevent us from speaking of "The Church in the East Indies." The group of islands, formerly known as "Dutch East Indies," was the field of activity of different missionary societies, which had their home bases not only in the Netherlands, but also in Barmen and Basel, while an American Methodist Mission worked in the area of Medan (the capital of Sumatra) and Batavia (capital of Java). Last of all, there was the Christian and Missionary Alliance in the region of Makassar (capital of Celebes). These societies had their own methods of working. Side by side with them was "The Protestant Church of the Dutch East Indies" ("East Indies" has now been altered to "Indonesia.") This is the old colonist Church, which comprised the greater part of the Europeans who lived there, and at the same time was the field of missions of the old East-India Company. In so far as the activities were conducted from Holland, there were differences in denomination, though there is a growing unity between the Missionary Board at Oegstgeest (which, since the war, has formed part of the Dutch Reformed Church) and the Mission Center of the *Gereformeerde Kerken* at Baarn. In Indonesia, there was an increasing unity in the "Missionary Consulate" of the Netherlands Bible Society at Batavia, which was an interdenominational body. Since 1939, there has been a Council of Churches and Missions in the East

Indies. In 1933 a Theological Faculty was opened at Batavia, which promoted ecumenical consciousness.

Ten years after Tambaram,¹ most of the larger Christian communities were organized in independent Churches. Yet a war was needed to bring these Churches into closer contact; a contact which did not exist before the war. The Churches lived as in a prison where the occupants never see each other.

As a consequence of the German invasion, the contact between Indonesia and the Netherlands was broken. The German missionaries, most of whom worked in Batak (Sumatra) and southeast Borneo, were interned. These orphan missions were provided with new workers by the other societies. In Batak, this system met with difficulties, as the native Church which existed there wanted to manage matters itself. Considerable contributions from America and Australia and from the European Christians of Protestant Churches made it possible to continue the work. Thus, something of ecumenical thought was realized through this practical help.

After Pearl Harbor, it was not long before Japan took possession of the Dutch East Indies. In due time, after the occupation of the islands, all Europeans were brought together in internment camps, with the exception of physicians. With that, European influence on the native Christians had come to an end. The medical missionaries could go on with their work for a longer period, but they were so closely watched that it was only in secret that they could give some support to the young Churches, which were practically left to themselves. The immediate result of this was that many native pastors received no salary, though many missionaries had taken the precaution of having part of the salaries paid in advance. Everywhere, however, the communities came to the rescue of their pastors,

¹ International Missionary Council's World Conference, 1938, at Madras, Tambaram.

so that we can speak of an increase of self-support. But the complete pillage of these islands, once of such great riches, and the growing lack of the essential necessities of life, put the endurance of the families of pastors to the severest test. Many died of exhaustion or fell victims to prowling diseases. At present, a year after the capitulation, many have not yet got over the consequences of starvation.

The time of Japanese occupation may be divided into four periods. During the first, Japan pretended to be the liberator of Indonesia and, with anti-Western propaganda, at the same time attacked Christianity as the religion of the Western world. During the second period, Japan was convinced of its permanent control of the East-Asiatic-Prosperity-Sphere and did not continue a negative attitude toward the established Christian communities. In the third period, however, Japan began to doubt its powerful position and affiliated itself with the Islamic majority. Then came the fourth period, in which the position of Japan became hopeless, when it did all that possibly could be done to sow racial discrimination against the West.

Though, in the first proclamation, religious liberty was guaranteed by Japan, nothing, practically, came of this. The first reason was that the Japanese suspected an accessibility to Western influence among the Christians, which clashed with the Japanese conception of neutrality. There was the more ground for this as the greater part of the colonial army consisted of native soldiers from the Christian areas, notably from the Minahassa (N. Celebes), Ambon, and Timor. Thus the Christian population was exposed to suspicion and coercive measures everywhere, which led to imprisonment and torture in many cases.

The second reason was that the Christians themselves formed a minority of about 2,000,000 believers against a majority of about 60,000,000 Moslems and pagans. In view of the expansion

of military activities in British India and the Indian States, Japan was anxious to predispose the Islamic population in its favor. The embarrassing question for a Mohammedan of how to worship the Emperor of Japan was solved by means of the notorious *Interpretatio Japanica*: it was only a formality! This separation of form and purport did not come easy to the native Christians.

Moreover, advantage was taken of the fact that the Mohammedans felt themselves slighted as compared with the Christian areas (especially in the field of education) and an animosity was roused, which, after the capitulation, when the republic was proclaimed, gave rise to fresh bursts of anger against the indigenous Christians. The allied occupying forces had to take many Christians from the Minahassa and Ambon under their protection by placing them in camps.

It is a typical phenomenon that the Churches which seceded from the missionary Churches, when they became independent at the Tambaram conference, resigned themselves rather easily to Japanese measures and joined the nationalist revolution. This must be explained by an excess of nationalist feeling which made them so favor old forms of national life that they even reintroduced pagan customs. In Java, for instance, a considerable group of the population joined the extremists "for better or worse." Again and again, it appeared that Romans 13 is liable to different explanations: The Japanese maintained (to uphold their authority) that most of the native Christians wished to confer authority on the nationalist movement, while, in the Netherlands, there were those who only wished to give this to the government.

We have already mentioned the nationalist uproar. For a clear comprehension we must go further into the matter. The "awakening" of Asia had also become perceptible in the Dutch East Indies. National feeling in this colony assumed a shape

of its own, that of colonial nationalism. Dr. Verdoorn, a missionary doctor in Java, gave an exposition of this problem. Colonial nationalism is characterized by the opposition against a status of political, economical, and cultural dependence. Its only aim is: the termination of the colonial relations and the foundation of a free community. It is a historical paradox that this opposition sprang up first of all and with the greatest violence among the Eastern intellectuals. It is true that they owed their erudition to the tyrant, but they realized at the same time how much, by this very fact, they had been estranged from their own people. Colonial nationalism is above all a projection of the will which is characterized by a general restlessness, which may, within a very short time, spread to the lowest strata of the population.

In the beginning it was a question of sentiment. The Dutch Government thought to satisfy this by respecting the national traditions. The native government officials were brought into prominence and the unwritten laws, derived from ancient usage (the *adat*) of the different groups of population were thoroughly studied. But this involved separate legislation for the Europeans who, also, took an economically leading part more and more. Thus a social antithesis arose, to which the Dutch Government and the Europeans who worked in the colonies were blind. Did they not give what was asked of them? There were only a few who realized that the very fact of being given and having to ask was a cause of irritation. Besides, not all that was asked was given. The social antithesis remained.

About 1935, the colonial nationalist movement entered a new stage. It began to understand the real meaning of democracy. From that time, we notice a growing rationalization of nationalism. It adopted arguments and fighting methods from democracy. The measures taken by the government in strengthening the authority of the native government officials were

regarded only as the continuation of the old feudal system. The adjudication of the "exorbitant rights" of the Governor General, which made it possible to exile people without the necessity of an official sentence, was reminiscent of fascist methods. The measures against the nationalist movement were tightened up. More than once, the native representatives in the national council demanded a State conference, appealing to Article 1 of the Constitution. These requests were refused. When the Atlantic Charter of 1941 was published (before the war with Japan), the Dutch government declared that the right of self-determination did not refer to the relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Under these circumstances, the war with Japan began.

The message of Queen Wilhelmina on the first anniversary of the war with Japan was of different purport. She gave voice to the conviction that political unity will never last unless it is founded on the voluntary acceptance and the loyalty of the vast majority of the population. This royal word never reached occupied Indonesia. The war of independence was continued there, just as in former days, by following two different methods: that of nonco-operation and that of co-operation. There was one difference only: freedom had now to be won from Japan, not from the Netherlands.

The atomic bomb on Hiroshima exploded at a moment when the allied powers were not yet ready to take over command in Indonesia, while the Indonesian Nationalists were trying themselves to secure power. From that moment, the problem which, until that time, had been regarded as a specific Dutch problem, had become of world-wide importance. Even now, a year after the capitulation, the two large islands of Java and Sumatra are practically still withdrawn from Dutch authority. The Lieutenant-Governor General, Dr. van Mook, belongs to the progressive group of Dutchmen. He has to

contend not only with the lack of confidence on the part of the Indonesian Nationalists, but also with political controversies in the Netherlands. The Dutch Reformed Church, in a message on March 9, 1946, pronounced in favor of offering an equal place and equal rights within the framework of a freely accepted commonwealth, conformable with the promise of the queen of December 7, 1942. The federated Protestant missionary societies at Oegstgeest had already issued a statement on October, 1945, in which they stood without reserve and without ambiguity for the total liquidation of the colonial relationship. The message of the Church, on March 9, 1946, contained a second point besides the offer already mentioned. It made the stipulation that freedom of religion must be assured so as to assure the continuance of the spiritual mission. There must be freedom to preach the Gospel in the schools, the press, and on the wireless.

The emergency Contact-committee for Church and Mission in Indonesia also addressed petitions to the government concerning active religious freedom. It concurred with the Statement on Religious Liberty of 1944 of the Joint Committee on Religious Liberty in America.

This brings us to the problem of religious freedom. In the beginning of this year, the Republican Minister declared officially that the new Republic guaranteed freedom of religion. Many prominent Nationalists are Christians, e.g., for one, the commander-in-chief of the Republican army. We may assume that there is a positive desire for religious freedom. Yet some concern is perceptible about its practicability.

In the first place, the danger of resentment is not illusory. The two oldest Christian peoples, the inhabitants of Ambon and the Minahassa, have remained faithful to the old colonial authority and have, like the Christians of Java, Timor, and the Dajak countries, paid for this with their lives; as many of

them did during the Japanese occupation. Many are prepared to give their lives to restore authority, though they do this only in the confidence that the Dutch Government will fulfil its promises. It is an open question whether it will be possible for them to fit into the new Republic easily, the more so because, as a matter of fact, they were privileged, and they may feel themselves neglected on account of the development of the Mohammedan majority. They may constitute a minority which would constitute a danger to the new Republic. The help given by the "old" Churches will, above all, have to be of such a nature that the "young" Churches are shown the way to preserve freedom of action (for evangelization). Steps taken in this direction, however, ought to originate from the World Council of Churches rather than from any missionary society, as certain associations are attached to the term "mission," which is reminiscent of past colonial relations. At the same time, ways and means will have to be found in certain regions to attain a greater economic elasticity in comprehensive approach.

A second cause for concern derives from an Islamic world-trend. Before the war, "freedom of religion" existed in Mohammedan countries. But this was only theoretical. At all schools, Islamic religious teaching was compulsory; in missionary hospitals divine services were forbidden, liberty of press was hampered. The so-called "Treaty of Omar" (450 A.H.), which is generally accepted as an example of Islamic interdenominational law, offers only restricted religious freedom. The negotiations in the Indonesian Republic are carried on in secular surroundings. The nationalist leaders, on the whole, have no inner contact with orthodox Islam. But this may suddenly change under influence from outside.

A third reason is that nationalism itself may outgrow religion. For in the Christian areas of Indonesia, too, the question of

the relation between the Church and the people is coming into prominence. Efforts are made to have a complete hold on the schools and the youth movement. Over against this, the Church puts the total claim that Jesus Christ is Lord in every sphere of life. A Christian can never join in the world with all his heart. This may lead to antipathy and persecution. For the deepest conflict is, after all, that the Gospel offers consolation to the brokenhearted and nationalism refuses to acknowledge this.

The indigenous Churches, on the whole, have stood their ground during these turbulent years, which is a cause of great rejoicing. They have shown what it means to be "Church." We have mentioned already the courageous attitude of many pastors who stuck to their posts or sought refuge in the woods with their flocks. Cases are known in which they did not enter into forced labor as pastors, but as coolies. The Japanese followed the tactics of bringing together the Churches of various denominations into insular communities, so that an easy control was possible and no Western influence could be exercised. In this way, many missionary Churches, which had hardly any contact until that time, have come nearer together. Differences, which in some cases could be explained only by the history of Church and mission in the Home Base, disappeared or were regarded as of secondary importance. More and more, the Church began to be a real witness. During the whole time of the Japanese occupation, there were intellectual lay people in Java who gave guidance to Christian thought in the few native papers that appeared during that period. People came to know each other's liturgies and Church organizations. All had the same problems in training pastors and in influencing youth. Now reports reach us that the unity which was attained in these hard years is continuing in many places. It is expected that the six missionary societies in Java will con-

solidate into one Javanese Church. On Celebes, which is the field of activity of about seven organizations, unity is also growing. On Borneo, the Dajak Church and the Chinese emigrant Church have found each other.

Most of these Churches have a clearer view of the missionary task that awaits them than before. In the opening of new fields by European, American, or Australian societies, the voice of the indigenous Churches must be heeded.

The time has not yet come to discern definite ways along which the indigenous Churches may develop. In the internment camps, many possibilities have been considered by European workers. It may be said that these correspond in general ways with what we have heard about the indigenous Churches. The Churches of Java and Sumatra, however, are practically still out of reach so that we cannot speak of a contact between *all* native Churches. Plans are made for the formation of a National Christian Council together with Provincial Christian Councils for certain combinations of young Churches and missions. However, there seems to be a tendency in some parts outside Java and Sumatra to pass over this stage of unity and to form at once a Council of Churches. This haste may be explained, perhaps, by the fact that the prominent Christian communities are situated in the borderlands of Indonesia. They foster the hope of being more firmly established by the time that central Indonesia comes to formulate its wishes.

This body—which will bear the name Christian Council, Council of Churches, or Church Council—will have to take a comprehensive approach seriously. Secretaries will have to be appointed for theological questions, problems of evangelization, youth work, medical work, press and radio, and social economic affairs. Some of these places will have to be taken at once by Indonesians. In other cases, help will have to be asked from the Christian Councils of India and China. Though in general

the indigenous Churches have assumed a critical attitude toward Western missionaries and will be glad to exert some control, yet there will still be room for Western workers. In so far as these are requisitioned from the Netherlands, they must bear in mind that they will have to adapt themselves to entirely new conditions.

In the coming years, Indonesia will have to call on certain bodies which formerly did not maintain any relations with Christian activity there. This has to do not only with finances: experience has taught that the stricken Churches at home give proportionately more than before. But it will also be necessary to send Christian workers to Indonesia who do not spring from a people with such a long colonial history as the Dutch and will have to be obtained partly from the East. Then interchange of literature will be necessary. As many problems have already been considered elsewhere and may find a better solution from outside. Last of all, the fact that Indonesia will be admitted to the circles of the Atlantic Charter will result in a greater openness of these countries to inter-Church contact, which will counter-balance the danger of nationalism. And this we may see as the task for the World Council of Churches.

5

NEW GUINEA

John D. Bodger

NO CONSIDERATION of the state of Church life in New Guinea can be made without first of all bearing in mind the conditions of life prevailing in the Territories as a result of the recent war.

Unlike the Philippine Islands, where the President stepped ashore at the side of the Commander-in-Chief, Papua-New Guinea was left with a military administration for over two and a half years after the last Japanese was driven out of Papua, and it was not until October, 1945, that a Provisional Civil Administration began to function.

It is still unknown what the future holds regarding the two Territories; whether they are to be administered as one Territory, or two as before the war.

The Methodist Mission carried on without the supervision of white missionaries during the war, except for what oversight the Chairman, the late Rev. John Rundle, was able to give while acting as an Air Force chaplain in Milne Bay. The South Sea Island and Papuan pastors did yeoman service in holding the congregations together, pending the day when the missionaries could return.

The London Missionary Society's stations along the south coast of Papua were kept going with skeleton staffs, and one missionary, young John Gilkison, died a lonely death from black-water fever at his post near Mailu Island.

Three priests, one layman, and four sisters of the Anglican

Mission met death at the hands of the Japanese, and another priest, the Rev. James Benson, was a prisoner, first at Gona, and then in Rabaul. He suffered many things, and was on the only ship to escape in the Bismarck Sea battle. He has now returned to Gona.

In New Guinea, both the Anglican priests lost their lives, and the Methodist and Lutheran Missions are mourning a long roll of missionaries who "counted not their lives dear unto them."

In 1944, missionaries who had left were allowed to return; but to what? Many stations were in ruins, either through enemy action or from natural foes like termites. Mission vessels had been commandeered by the forces and in many instances had been lost or were in an unserviceable condition. Schools were in need of new equipment, and hospitals and dispensaries also needed fresh supplies of drugs and instruments.

Prices of all commodities had risen at least four times above the pre-war level and thus increased giving by the home countries was swallowed up in purchasing the bare essentials of existence.

The lack of transport resulted in the cutting off of missionaries from headquarters, and prevented the heads of missions from visiting their scattered stations.

All the missions owe a great debt of gratitude to personnel of the forces both Australian and American for the many acts of kindness they displayed in assisting the missions in rehabilitating themselves. Medical and surgical advice and aid were freely given to both whites and Papuans, surplus drugs, dressings, and other equipment made available where possible, to reequip hospitals and dispensaries. Co-operation in infant welfare and antituberculosis propaganda, and other help freely given, will not soon be forgotten in Papua.

Servicemen found a warm welcome at all mission stations and thereby gained first-hand knowledge of what the Church was doing here. Henry P. Van Dusen's book, *They Found the*

Church There,¹ gives many examples of what the serviceman saw.

As the war moved north, away from Papua and New Guinea, the backlash and aftermath of things began to be apparent; and as bases were evacuated, the sight of valuable installations and equipment being destroyed was a terrible indictment of modern economy.

In September, 1945, the thousands of native laborers who had been employed by the Army Administration Unit were released en masse and returned to their villages, at a time when the gardens were nearly empty. Although the returnees had plenty of money, they had no opportunity to spend it as the trading stores were either still closed or, where open, had no stock.

Thanksgiving services for their safe return were held at many centers and many of those who had come back gave gifts of money for reconstruction work as a thank-offering for preservation in time of danger.

It soon became evident that those returning had become critical of much that before the war they had accepted without question. They wanted to know "WHY?" This is perfectly healthy and with guidance is becoming a very useful characteristic in the young Church. In the minds of Papuan young men, who had met all sorts and conditions of men while with the forces, many new ideas were simmering, and there have been many reactions to what they have seen and learned. In some, an inordinate love of this world's goods has resulted, in others, a carelessness of the rights of others, and in some, the desire to ape the white man in his manner of life, regardless of whether that way of life is moral or not.

The mind of the Papuan is filled with stresses and tensions which previously did not exist and the very best leadership among both whites and Papuans is called upon to guide the

¹ Chas. Scribner's Sons.

Papuans and ease the strain. There must be great patience and perseverance and consideration on both sides.

The return of the young men of the Papuan Infantry Battalion from their service in other parts of New Guinea and in the Islands was awaited with anxiety, which fortunately has proved ill-founded as these fine lads, who distinguished themselves so well during the war, have returned, in many cases, prepared to dedicate themselves to a greater and finer warfare. Several have already raised their voices in the villages demanding a vigorous cleansing of village life, a greater respect for the sanctity of the marriage vow, and a general improvement in the welfare of all.

This again offers a wonderful opportunity to organized religion and we must not slack our hands in helping and guiding and keeping alive the flame of such resolves.

These and other young men are going to be the leaders of the future and we must seek every means to enable them to dedicate their enthusiasm to the service of God and their fellows. Their comradeship in arms will continue to bind them in unity of purpose and co-operation of effort in the power of the Holy Spirit, and it is a movement for which we can thank God.

At the first anniversary gathering of the Papuan and white clergy and teachers of the Anglican Mission to be held since 1941 a magnificent spirit of unity and fellowship was evident. The Papuans led the way with a fine scheme of self-help and desire to become a "Sending Church." They have fixed as their aim the raising of twenty thousand pounds as a capital fund to be called *Ekalesia ana Aniagu*, "Church Help." The interest from this fund is to be used to pay their own clergy and teachers, thus releasing monies from abroad for evangelizing new fields; to print urgently needed books for Church use; and, thirdly, to open new work in untouched parts of the diocese.

The whole scheme has been thought out by the Papuans and will be supervised by their own chosen committee.

The Papuans continue to have an outward-looking vision and their offerings as of old have been sent far and wide, to the starving of Europe, to those who suffered in the Hilo wave disaster, to the mother societies in Britain, such as S.P.C.K. and the Bible Society, to whom they realize their indebtedness, and to assist in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the devastated mission stations of the north. Along with these gifts have gone many prayers, as radio news of suffering or disaster gives the opportunity of immediate help by prayer and intercession.

Offers of service are coming from all parts of the diocese, and St. Aidan's College for training teachers is full to overflowing, mainly with keen young men from the stricken areas who are resolved that the Gospel shall be taken to those who betrayed our missionaries. Among those training at the College is the older brother of Lucian Tapiedi who gave his life in trying to protect two of the mission sisters.

The students who persevered during the war have, since gone out to understaffed areas and are doing a splendid work. This work is handicapped at present by the difficulty in obtaining equipment for the schools, and one could wish that grandiose schemes for reorganizing the educational future of Papua at a huge cost could be laid by and that the material necessary to maintain existing schools were forthcoming. It is regrettable that much of costly rehabilitation of Papuan life smacks of political window-dressing and has resulted so far only in the creation of highly paid executive posts, and the elaboration of fantastic plans for town planning. These plans, by the way, leave out of account altogether any room for a place of worship, and at the same time we are denied the bare necessities for school work. In the realm of medicine, it seems impossible to

obtain much-needed drugs for maintaining infant welfare work, treatment of ulcers and skin disease and the like. All the mission bodies are keen to co-operate with the administration, but the chaos born of uncertainty appears to be hindering progress along the lines indicated.

A further danger is that theorists may force their ideas on the administration and lead them to commit errors of policy which could be avoided if consultation were taken with experienced missionaries from the various bodies who have been at work here for more than half a century. It must not be forgotten that the reputation that Australia gained for wise administration of a native race was earned prior to 1942, and that many of those who earned such glowing praise during the war were trained in the schools of the missions.

Another matter which received keen support during the recent anniversary gathering was the need to print more hymns and prayers in the vernacular, so that the Papuan's worship could become more intelligent. It was further realized that the Papuan himself must now accept the privilege and responsibility of producing these aids; not merely by translating English hymns and prayers, but by composing others from his own ideas and thought, and thus, while acknowledging and accepting what the wider Church had to offer, at the same time realizing that he has a contribution to make in return.

Urgent has been the call from those returning to their homes for more books for home use as well as for worship, and plans are afoot to begin to print readers and simple English books to meet this need, as well as to explore the field of literature already established by Friendship Press, Sheldon Press, and others. It is hoped that more and more readers be prepared and books written with the needs of more than one country or continent in mind, so that small dioceses and missions like those here can benefit from what is being produced.

Meetings of the Guild of St. Mary, the basis of the work among women and girls, were held recently, when messages from the Mothers' Union in Australia were read by the Chairman of the Australian Board of Missions, and messages of thanks and greetings in English were written and sent in reply.

Touching scenes were witnessed when the veteran missionary, James Benson, who had been a prisoner of the Japanese for over three years, returned here after a short spell of chaplaincy duty in Port Moresby. It was moving to see the greetings exchanged between him and those who were young pupil teachers when he was captured, who now were either full teachers or at the Training College. The fellowship and reverence and wholeheartedness of the services in the Cathedral were in great contrast to the ill-attended services in Port Moresby, and a marked contrast to the indifference of Church people there.

Here is one of the great dangers of the future.

Nearly all schemes for the future of the Papuan have ignored the fact that he has a spiritual side to his nature, and, until this is realized, it is difficult to regard with anything but apprehension such schemes.

We dare not surrender the essential principles of our training, which have been so fully vindicated in the past, in order to secure grants or assistance from an education scheme which envisages only the secular mind. Those appointed to implement policies may be sympathetic to missions, but so often it is the policy which directs individuals, and all schemes for the future of Papua appear to concentrate on what will look well as a plank in politics. Spiritual growth must keep pace with mental development or we shall produce in Papua and New Guinea the failures in the field of moral values which are such a blot on the social and industrial life of more civilized countries today where education is, as a rule, on a purely secular basis.

Missionary bodies are witnesses of the Will of God for man-

kind, revealed in the life on earth of Jesus Christ, and set forth in His teaching, and that Will is for the threefold nature of man, namely, body, mind, and spirit. It is, therefore, of paramount importance that any educational schemes or programs of civics should remember the above, for any emphasis on one at the expense of the others will lead to a generation of lopsided people and be a fruitful field for the sowing of seeds of discontent in the future. For ourselves, it was realized in 1941, at the time of the Jubilee of the Mission, that the first fifty years, the slogan of the Church in Papua, had been Christ for Papua, and the Gospel had been preached from without, while the next fifty years must proclaim Papua for Christ, with the Papuans themselves carrying the Gospel Light to those still in darkness. It is to this purpose that a year of cleansing and renewal has been proclaimed, so that, by self-dedication, fresh power may be gained for building the Kingdom of God in Papua.

Again reverting to the return of the young men of the Papuan Infantry Battalion, it must be realized that those serving in it were from all the missions, and that their chaplain at one time was an Anglican priest, at another, a former L.M.S. missionary, and thus consciousness of sect or differences of outlook were not allowed to loom large. Those who fought together will not find it difficult to live together and work together for the future of their country, and the happy relationship which existed before the war, which resulted in the Combined Missions Committee and the Annual Inter-Missions Sports Gatherings, will have been further cemented through the comradeship of these young representatives of the various missionary bodies.

Of even more far-reaching influence for the future of the Ecumenical Movement is the fact that the mother of a young Australian who fell in the Owen Stanley Campaign has given

a large sum of money for the establishment of a permanent College for Papuan Missionaries, and it is her hope and prayer that some day a Papuan trained there may go out to Japan to preach the Gospel to the people who killed her son.

That such a vision will come to pass seems assured when one pictures James Benson pleading for extension of the work of the Church while he sets his face toward the ruins and desolation that was Gona, and out of nothing and with little besides faith and the assurance of the loyal support of his Papuan flock prepares to build again his Church and schools and hospital there; for the Gospel that James Benson will preach will be the Gospel of Christ's Love for all men, including those who slew his fellow-workers and who misused him so cruelly.

Lack of transport and many other difficulties have stood in the way of any corporate thought on mutual problems in Papua by the various missionary bodies, but it is earnestly hoped that before long it may be possible to arrange such a gathering.

Meanwhile, we go forward full of thanks to God for His preservation of His Church in time of war, conscious that He has given us an opportunity to make amends for past errors and united in His strength to build up His Kingdom in the world and in the hearts of all men.

A momentous conference took place at Port Moresby in the middle of October, 1946, when, at the invitation of the Provisional Administrator, Colonel J. K. Murray, all the missionary bodies at work in Papua and New Guinea were asked to send representatives to meet and confer on subjects which lie at the heart of the future welfare of the native peoples.

Thirty-four missionaries availed themselves of the invitation and the following bodies were represented: Anglican, Roman Catholic, London Missionary Society, Methodist, Lutheran, Seventh-Day Adventist, Kwato Mission, Unevangelised Fields

Mission, Bamu River Mission. Some delegates came from as far as the Northern Solomons. No such meeting has taken place since the historic occasion in the year 1891.

We were all very conscious of our common purpose at this conference and a real spirit of unity prevailed during all discussions. I am sure that our common suffering during the war years enabled us to feel a mutual sympathy for each other's needs and difficulties. We were welcomed by the Administrator and introduced to the Directors of the Departments of Education, Public Health, and Agriculture. The main purpose of the conference was to formulate policies in which both government and missions could participate whereby health, education, and technical skills should be taken to the native peoples as soon as possible and over as wide an area as possible. Frank discussion and unequivocal statements were sought and given and all of us realized the urgency of the tremendous task which lies ahead. Where it was found impossible to fall in with the wishes of the government in certain particulars, the fact was openly stated and explanations were given.

One definite policy was laid down, namely, that the government would not compete with the missions in promulgating the work of education or in the establishment of schools and hospitals where they already existed, but would rather seek to supplement already existing work. In short, there would not be competition but co-operation.

The conference lasted several days and all left feeling that a much greater understanding of each other's problems had been gained. It is with great satisfaction that I am able to report this and we can rejoice that sympathetic Christians have been appointed to these key positions in the government and that they wish to share the burden of building up the future generations of Papua, New Guinea, on really Christian lines.

6

THE PHILIPPINES

E. K. Higdon

THE FILIPINO, in his national hymn, sings of his country as the "Land of the morning, Child of the sun returning." But from December, 1941, until September, 1944, it was a land of darkness, and "the sun returning" after the long blackout saw a sad people in a setting of desolation. The Philippines had become the grave of "noble heroes"; the Pearl of the Orient had been torn from its setting; the land was in ruins.

The extent of the physical destruction and the depth of the mental and spiritual wounds defy description. It is estimated that the loss of buildings of all kinds amounts to nearly a billion dollars.¹ That equals fifty dollars per person for every man, woman, and child in the archipelago. Before the war, the average annual income in cash of a family of five was twenty-five dollars.

The economic losses include eighty per cent of all transportation by land, water, and air; seventy-five per cent of the telephone, telegraph, cable, and postal services; eighty-five per cent of the sugar industry, on which five million of the eighteen million population depended for their livelihood; fifty per cent of the coconut, the hemp, and the tobacco industries; seventy-five per cent of the factories and manufacturing establishments; fifty per cent of the fishing industry; and seventy

¹ The estimate of losses recorded in this chapter is based on the first survey made following liberation.

per cent of the poultry, the livestock, the fruits, and all tree crops. The destruction of banks and banking institutions is estimated at eighty per cent. Seventy-five per cent of the public buildings and twenty-five per cent of private homes, ninety per cent of the equipment and furnishings in government buildings and thirty to thirty-five per cent in private places were reduced to ashes or to rubble.

The school system was almost entirely disrupted; eighty per cent of the buildings, equipment, and supplies, and seventy-five per cent of all books have been blown to bits or have gone up in smoke. Children have been out of school for four years.

The Christian program was carried on under most difficult circumstances. Eighty per cent of all Church property has been destroyed. Many ministers were killed and lay leaders took their places. Congregations evacuated and scattered into the mountains, the forests, the caves, and the fish ponds. Supplies for Christian use are almost entirely lacking. The Christian community was blacked out from the rest of the world, and for nearly four years had no fellowship with the Church Universal.

The physical destruction of this war, overwhelming as it is, does not compare with the moral deterioration and spiritual confusion. Everywhere, in wartime, moral codes are repealed and, in those lands occupied by an enemy army, they are forgotten.

The moral deterioration of the Filipino people as a whole is the most serious tragedy of these years. Stealing, robbing, lying, killing, looting, became part of the day's work for both the soldiers and the civilians. Children saw their elders engaged in all kinds of unethical and immoral activities, judged by normal standards, and did not know right from wrong.

A shockingly large number of Filipino girls in their 'teens were "shacking up" with American soldiers, this often with

the consent of the girls' parents. The underlying cause seemed to be economic necessity. There were doubtless other contributing factors, but the girls and their families needed clothing, medicine, toilet articles, and food, all of which the GI's could provide. After the Spanish-American War, there were approximately twenty-five thousand children of mixed parentage. It is probable that there will be a hundred thousand this time.

The people of the Philippines are torn by contentions and embittered by hatred. The collaborationist-patriot issue is tense. One guerrilla leader is accused of responsibility for the execution of four thousand civilians in northern Luzon. The total number put to death in that region alone, because they were either guilty or suspected of espionage and sabotage, probably reached ten thousand. I visited one home where three grown sons had been killed by the guerrillas.

Religious contentions divide the people. This is one aspect of the collaborationist-patriot issue. The Japanese-sponsored organizations were viewed with suspicion and those who still promoted and supported them aroused deep emotions among others who suffered at Japanese hands. The Philippine Commonwealth Government announced, soon after the liberation, that no laws enacted during the Japanese occupation were valid. The people would return to the prewar situation. Many Christian leaders have taken the same attitude. Instead of continuing the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the Philippines, an organization set up under Japanese auspices, many Philippine Churchmen co-operate in the Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches. This Federation was organized in 1937 in direct line with the Evangelical Union (1901) and the National Christian Council (1928). Its administrative committee and other executive officers have taken up their tasks and responsibilities where they were interrupted by the coming of the Japanese.

The Evangelical Church of the Philippines, promoted by a committee on Church union of the Japanese-sponsored federation, has been under heavy fire. Whether or not the charges of disloyalty and collaboration were well founded, the fact remains that Protestant Filipinos were handicapped by religious contentions at a time when there was every reason they should be united.

It was against a background of physical suffering in the midst of desolation and destruction, of mental and spiritual confusion and frustration because of contentions and bitterness, and of group paralysis because of economic and political chaos, that I saw the activity and sensed the vitality of the Evangelical Church. Its leadership was aware of the liabilities it carried but they also knew the spiritual assets.

The first of the assets is the opportunity to begin anew. The loss of buildings in some instances may prove beneficial. Tentative plans have been discussed for a Protestant headquarters building in the new Manila. Such a building would give added respect and prestige to Evangelical Christianity and make possible a more satisfactory service for the constituents of denominational and interdenominational agencies. It should provide headquarters for missions, for such organizations as the American Bible Society and the Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches, for denominational offices, and for a union bookstore and literature depository.

Many of the church buildings which were destroyed had neither form nor beauty. As Filipino Christians build anew, they have an opportunity to construct beautiful, useful houses of worship. The boards of foreign missions in the United States should set up an architectural bureau in the Philippines, staffed by nationals and Americans; and young Filipinos should be encouraged to enter this study. In fact, one of the sons

of Bishop D. D. Alejandro has indicated his interest in taking both a theological and an architectural course.

Manila needs a modern Christian medical center. The slate has been wiped clean for such an institution. Those most interested plan to survey the situation under competent direction in order to begin, if possible, with a union hospital.

Furthermore, the programs for training men and women for Christian service can now be studied afresh. The buildings of several schools have been badly damaged or totally destroyed and mergers or correlation of institutions may be profitably effected. The need for standardization of Protestant educational activities has become clear during these testing years, and measures have been initiated both in the Philippines and in the United States to bring this about. The organization in the Philippines of the Association of Christian Schools and Colleges was effected in May, 1946 to try to meet these needs.

The problem of finance is as old as the missionary movement. Foreign money has both blessed and cursed the younger Churches. In the reconstruction of buildings, in financing a long-time program, and in the rehabilitation of Christian personnel, methods which have succeeded elsewhere can now be introduced into the Philippines. Nationals and missionaries together may yet make a worthy contribution in this difficult matter.

The Philippine Government cannot cope successfully with the educational difficulties created by the war. Its treasury empty, its buildings largely destroyed, hundreds of its teachers killed and no new ones trained since 1941, it faces a task far beyond its resources. Filipino laymen see an opportunity for the churches to open in every community where the educational needs cannot be met by government or private agencies. The Methodists have initiated a survey to determine the places in their territory where schools are lacking and the types of school

needed in each. The Education Committee of the Federation is gathering data for the entire archipelago. This committee points out that the only schools now open to Protestant children in many communities are those conducted by the Roman Catholic Church; that the government can never take the place of Christian institutions in the training of good citizens; and that aid in an education project would not only gain the confidence and respect of local, provincial, and national government officials, but would also give the children, and in many instances their parents, a vital, practical faith.

War introduced both divisive and unifying factors into Philippine Protestantism. The actions required by the religious section of the Japanese army resulted in some cases in a larger measure of Church union, but contributed on the whole to disunion. An example of the promotion of unity is provided by the Church of Christ (Disciples) in the Philippines, a title given to eight groups which united in order to meet the requirements of the Japanese government. The largest of these uniting Disciple groups is the one which has been related to the parent Church in America. Five of the others were smaller denominations which had separated from the Disciples during the last quarter of a century. Two others which do not belong to the Disciple family have withdrawn from this union since Japanese pressure has been removed. The other six have voted since liberation to remain together.

But other actions taken by the religious section proved divisive. The Japanese-sponsored Federation of Evangelical Churches in the Philippines was intended to replace the Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches, a co-operative agency set up jointly by American missionaries and Filipinos. Furthermore, a committee on Church union appointed by the Japanese Federation organized a new Church and chose among its leadership several men who were later charged with col-

laboration. In the Summer and Fall of 1945, it published statements either including these groups in its membership or maligning denominational leaders who opposed the union. This was a serious situation in 1945 and it is still a disturbing factor.

But in spite of discord caused by Japanese-sponsored organizations, progress in Christian unity, co-operation, and Church union has been made. The Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches is functioning effectively. Two denominations which did not belong to it before the war are now members.

The committee on Church union of the Federation had drawn up a plan on which the United Evangelical Church of the Philippines (a union of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and the United Brethren, effected in 1928) and the Philippine Methodist Church have agreed to unite. Invitations have been extended to other groups and the new Church of Christ in the Philippines is now in process of formation.

There is an intense longing for Christian fellowship. My accounts of developments through the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the International Missionary Council, and the World Council of Churches called forth discussions and questions which revealed a deep and intelligent interest. My interpretations of the purpose and mood of the boards for fuller, more effective co-operation and, in some instances, organic Church union met enthusiastic response. The eagerness of the various bodies to know the plans of the Philippine Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference and of the boards which constitute it carries both encouragement and warning: encouragement, because tentative plans made here in the United States match needs felt there; warning, because Americans may press forward too rapidly and fail to give Filipinos the responsibility they should bear in this fellowship.

Encouraging progress in Christian co-operation between Filipinos and Americans has been made in the months since the Battle of Manila came to an end. It was my privilege and responsibility to be the first representative of the American Church to reach the Philippines. Before I left Manila on October 26 for my homeward flight, Bishop Edwin F. Lee of the Methodist Church had arrived, not in his official capacity as a Churchman, but nevertheless on a mission which enabled him to meet many Filipino friends and to strengthen the morale of all he met. And Professor M. Gamboa, who had been chairman of the Federation's Committee on Church Union, had come to the United States to serve his government and, incidentally, to interpret the mind of Filipino Protestants to those most eager to know what effect the war had had on them.

By the end of 1945, ten or more missionaries had returned and, during the first half of 1946, the number grew to forty or fifty. In the Summer and early Fall, thirty or more newly appointed men and women went to the Philippines, at least three of them assigned to co-operative work; and Samuel Catli, secretary of the Philippines Committee for Christian Education, had come to the United States for a year's graduate study. The Philippine Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference had secured from the boards of foreign missions the funds needed to meet all expenses of both Mr. and Mrs. Catli.

Furthermore, the Philippine Committee had appropriated from reserve funds set aside during the war \$2,000 to enable the Federation to print hymnals in two languages, using plates which had escaped the wide-spread destruction of printing presses and equipment. And from that reserve, the Committee had also taken \$13,300 to enable the Philippine Federation to carry on an increasingly effective program of activities. The

American Bible Society had restored in New York some dialect electroplates destroyed or stolen by looters after the liberation of Manila, had printed New Testaments in the principal vernaculars, and shipped them to their Philippine agency for distribution.

The Federation had elected Bishop Cipriano Navarro as its Filipino secretary and had requested the Philippine Committee to find an American for the missionary secretaryship.

A convention of those interested in education had been held and an association of Protestant schools had been organized. In the United States, an advisory council on Christian education in the Philippines had been formed and a group of three educators had been invited to go to the Islands to help plan such education for the post-war years. The boards had appropriated funds to enable the association to employ a well-qualified Filipino secretary and to guarantee financial support for three years; and to finance the trip of the planning Committee.

Plans for rural rehabilitation and reconstruction had been proposed to the Federation by the Philippine Committee including suggestions for demonstration centers in Central Luzon and in Mindanao.

War tension had eased in the Philippines and the prospects for Christian unity and a large measure of Church union seemed good.

The overwhelming majority of the people of the Philippines suffered indescribable physical hardships and mental anguish during the Japanese occupation and the campaign of liberation. Those terrible experiences either deepened and ripened the faith of Christians or revealed the poverty of their allegiance and the emptiness of their profession.

Furthermore, fellowship in suffering and the longing for Christian companionship drew together some who had been

torn apart by schisms within the Church. The healing of old wounds is a distinct gain.

The Church did not give up in the discouraging years of enemy occupation; it continues to do its task in the confusion and frustration of the days of liberation. Some illustrations of the Church at work indicate its conception of its functions and the way it is undertaking to do them.

I arrived in Cagayan, the capital of Oriental Misamis on the Island of Mindanao, at six thirty one Saturday evening. I suggested that the pastor ask the officers of the congregation to meet with me that night to discuss relief measures. I thought seven or eight might come but when I was called to the church at eight thirty I found fifty or more gathered there.

The officers wanted to know first about their missionaries. Then they asked about the Church in America and the other parts of the world from which they had been cut off for nearly four years. They were hungry for news and Christian fellowship. It took us an hour or more to get to a discussion of relief and then they talked about their need of hymnals, Bibles, devotional literature, and Sunday School materials. Not until I put the question, "What are your most pressing personal needs?" did they list medicines, clothing, and food.

When I went to Sunday School the next morning, I saw a carpenter at work. He was putting on siding. Although lumber was expensive and most difficult to find, they had purchased four hundred board feet. The workmen continued until time for the Church School to begin. The walls then extended to a height of five feet across the front, and along both sides a third of the length of the building.

The roof, the walls, the doors, the windows, the platform, and all the furniture, except the top of the reading desk, had been taken by Japanese soldiers. The "pews" that morning were planks from enemy fox-holes. Three-fourths of the

roofing consisted of army tenting, the remainder of new galvanized iron.

The attendance at Sunday School was about 150; the classes were graded, the teaching was well done, the opening and closing exercises were conducted in an orderly, worshipful manner.

There were 125 adults at church, fifty men, seventy-five women. The pastor, Robert Gahuman, and I sat at either side of an improvised pulpit, a small table, borrowed from the home of an elder across the street, with the top of the reading desk on it. The sides of the building had not yet been replaced opposite our seats. To my left, in an adjoining lot, a pomelo tree hung full of greenish-golden globes; to my right on the church grounds, a lanzone tree was heavy with delicious fruit. These must have been most tempting to many worshipers who had come that morning after eating little or no breakfast.

There was a choir of twenty-two men and women, but no pipe organ, no piano, no folding-organ, not even a pitch-pipe. I anticipated no music worthy of the name. The first number was by a mixed quartet; a young woman sang the offertory solo; and the choir gave an anthem. The singing would have done credit to a city church in England or America. Later, I saw their hand-made sheets of music and one or two much-patched printed copies.

The service was conducted in English. Mr. Gahuman prayed simply, earnestly, sincerely, and I sensed "fellowship in His suffering" in his prayer.

The congregation appeared well dressed. The members were clean and neat, as Filipinos always are, but, as I met them one by one at the close of the service, I saw that their garments had been repeatedly darned and patched. Girls and young women who would have refused to go to any public function in such clothing before the war now not only went but also

wore bakias, wooden shoes worn only by the servant class in normal times.

Three men, dressed in a peculiar kind of uniform, greeted me. They were former government or city officials in other Mindanao provinces. All were prisoners, arrested by the United States Counter Intelligence Corps on complaints of Filipinos. They had been given permission to attend church. I observed the friendliness of the "patriots" who greeted them. One of the latter took me aside to explain that these prisoners were on a near-starvation diet and asked that I speak about it to the United States Army captain with whom I was to have supper. When I did, the captain said that he was not responsible for the food but would take the matter up with the Filipino in charge.

In the afternoon, I went to the young people's meeting. Thirty-five or forty were present. And they discussed, in a well-planned, intelligent manner, "The Place of the Philippines in World Peace"! They asked me to say something about America's contribution to a Christian world-order.

Thus one congregation, seriously handicapped in physical plant and equipment, presses forward with an effective program. Another, during the Japanese occupation, fled from homes in a town on the coast and hid in the forests and caves of the hills, where the vitality of lay leadership was demonstrated. The six elders of this congregation agreed before evacuation that each would be responsible for the pastoral care of the part of the congregation with which he lived and also for the evangelization of the non-Church members in his area. At the end of a year and a half, a messenger from these districts carried word to the Rev. Proculo Rodriguez, who was hiding in another part of the Island, that his services were needed. He managed to evade the Japanese and reach the new parish, where he found one hundred adults awaiting Baptism.

They had been converted by the elders and instructed in the duties of Church membership.

A member of this congregation told Mr. Rodriguez that he is ready to donate twenty-five hectares (about fifty-five acres) of land and 2500 pesos (\$1250) for a school for rural young people on the Island of Negros.

Other illustrations of the consecration of material belongings to Christian ends are seen in the fact that, in some districts, during the occupation, more chapels were built than were destroyed. I visited communities where the church building had been burned or bombed when the Japanese forces arrived, had later been rebuilt, had been destroyed at the time of the liberation, and had either been again reconstructed or was in the process. Practically all financial support for Christian work was provided locally during the occupation. In some instances the salary of the pastor was more than doubled.

The Church is providing a ministry of compassion for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction; it is preaching and practicing the gospel of reconciliation; it is engaged in education; it is striving to reunite its divided ranks; and it is bringing redemption to those who need the saving power of Christ.

Scores of illustrations could be given to reveal the spirit which has enabled the Filipinos of whom I write to conquer through a triumphant faith. I give only one.

Miss Martir lived on the small island of Guimaris across the channel from the city of Iloilo. Guerrilla activity had been especially well organized and effective in the entire Negros-Panay area. It was in northern Panay that eleven Baptist missionaries were beheaded. Miss Martir was taken with several others for questioning. The Japanese captain who was trying to get her to tell where guerrilla bands could be found suddenly shouted: "You are lying! You are lying! Tell me the truth."

She quietly replied, "I am not lying. I may go soon to meet

my Maker. Do you think I want to stand in His presence with lies on my lips?"

The captain said, "That is Bible talk."

The girl looked directly at him and asked, "Are you a Christian?"

The captain avoided her eyes; his next questions were spoken in a kindly tone and a friendly manner. After a while, he dismissed her. And twice within the next several hours when she was brought before another officer by mistake, he came to her rescue and saved her life.

Many tales of Christian heroism in the Philippines must remain unwritten, but none will be lost. They will become fused in a great saga of the Filipino men and women who neither deserted Christ nor were deserted by Him. They called upon Him in their danger; they depended upon Him in their helplessness; they had fellowship with Him in their suffering. In these experiences, they exercised their faith and it now rises stalwart and sure from the dust of war to fulfil its destiny.

THE SOUTH PACIFIC

John W. Burton

"TWENTY-FIVE atolls, scattered over a rectangle of a million square miles of ocean, these are the Crown Colonies of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands."

In that sentence is revealed part of the difficulty of building up an indigenous Christian Church in the South Pacific, for over the whole area from the equator to the southern lands of Australia and New Zealand there are less than two million people in these tropic islands. When this condition is borne in mind, and comparison made with the vast populations of China, India, Japan, Africa, and the East Indies, it will be seen that any attempt to create an ecumenical sense in these small communities must be a long and arduous task.

Even in the larger groups of Papua, the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, and the Solomons, the difficulty still remains, for these are roadless lands, with vast mountains, deep valleys, and sunless canyons, covered for the most part by dense bush or steamy swamps. These keep separate the scattered tribes.

Another condition preventing the building up of a great Pacific Church, with a common outlook and a sense of partnership in a world community, is the almost incredible number of languages, for speech changes with only a few miles of country traversed. It will take many years to create a *lingua franca*, and even then the natural conservatism and tribal prejudices will tend to keep the people apart.

This lack of physical and linguistic communication accounts largely for the fact that very little effort has been made to bind up these diverse units into a single bundle. There are some armchair theorists who talk of a Pacific School of Theology, of a Pacific Literature, of a Pacific Church and what not; but they are probably a hundred years ahead of possibility and that is only less to be condemned than to be a hundred years behind. So let none think that the task is easy of building up a great Pacific Church with the temper and spirit of its own which will speedily be able to associate itself with the World Church coming into being.

In some areas, there is emerging a denominational consciousness which means a breaking down of tribal narrowness. The Roman Catholic Churches throughout the South Pacific have a common policy unified by Rome, and the several racial groups are given information about the progress of the Church in other parts of the world; but this knowledge is mediated mainly by European missionaries and does not represent any native movement. This is true, to a less extent, of the other large missionary bodies—Methodist, Lutheran, London Missionary Society, and Anglican (Church of England); but there have been few attempts, none of them successful, to create a common sense of unity. There are very happy relations among most of the Protestant European workers, but there is little, if any, ecumenical sense among the people themselves. They are apart; and it is Fiji for the Fijians, Tonga for the Tongans, Samoa for the Samoans, Papua for the Papuans.

The only break-through has been because native missionaries from the Southeastern Pacific (Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa, Cook Islands, and Fiji) have gone to the Southwestern Pacific (New Hebrides, the Solomons, New Guinea, and Papua) and some have returned to create an interest in the "dark-minded" races

among whom their missionary representatives have been at work.

In view of the above conditions, we would ask the World Council of Churches to be very patient with us in these vast lonely oceans with tiny islands reef-bound and mind-bound.

The cheering feature, and one that may be the hope of the future, is the growth of strong indigenous Churches in these Southern Seas. Evangelization in the Southeastern Pacific is complete—except for the Indian population in Fiji—and the Christian Churches there are “self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating.” This is particularly true of the London Missionary Society and Methodist Churches which manage their own affairs and maintain their own native staffs. It is only the salaries and allowances of European workers that are paid by the home Church, and these workers are merely a gift until such time as the native Church feels that it no longer needs them. That time still seems far distant.

There has been, up to the present, very little “overlapping” among the Protestant missions. There is only one outstanding case—that of Samoa—which has a long history of misunderstanding. There is the utmost co-operation between the London Missionary Society and Methodist missionaries; but the trouble is with the Samoan people, who are almost as obstinate against Church union as their people in the home lands. Attempts have been made, from time to time, to bring them together, but the troubled history of the *Lotu Tahiti* (London Missionary Society) and the *Lotu Tonga* (Methodist) makes it difficult and perhaps, in this generation, impossible. Briefly, the story is that the Tongan Church, as the result of a great revival in 1834, sent missionaries to friends in Samoa, while at about the same time the London Missionary Society stationed some Tahitian missionaries in another part of Western Samoa. When this became known in London, the two Mission Committees

met and determined that the Methodists should withdraw and leave the field to the London Missionary Society. This was a sensible decision; but it was made without the consent of the people. There were over two thousand who professed adherence to the *Lotu Tonga*, and when the European Methodist ministers were withdrawn they refused to join the Lotu Tahiti. Eventually, when hope of reaching a settlement had failed, the Australasian Methodist Church, which had recently been given control of the missions in the South Pacific, appointed a European missionary to care for the Methodist flock.

Elsewhere, the comity of missions is well observed, except by the Roman Catholics and Seventh-Day Adventists who are no party to it, and there is little or no intrusion by any one body into the areas "occupied" by others. We are really a happy company of fellow-workers.

Admirable and wise as this arrangement is, it is yet far from any truly ecumenical spirit. Each carries on his own ventures in his own way and according to the plans of our own denominations. There is no South Pacific Missionary Council on the field itself to co-ordinate the work and to secure fullest co-operation. It is true that we have vigorous National Missionary Councils in Australia and New Zealand; but their interests are wide, and the Councils are composed mainly of people who have very little knowledge of the South Seas as a whole.

The South Pacific is nearly all either evangelized or in process of evangelization. It is true that still there are areas in New Guinea and Papua where there are many thousands of untouched people, but most of these areas are in missionary "occupation" and, had not the war interrupted the work, much of the task would have been already overtaken. There is little need of help from the outside world for this part of the Church's activity.

It is, however, when we come to the question of staffing

educational and medical institutions that we are in difficulty. We rejoice to know that there is being set up a South Pacific Regional Commission which will have as one of its chief objectives the welfare and development of native races within the area. It would seem that governments are determined to take over the responsibility for medical and educational services which have been hitherto undertaken by Christian missions. This has advantages and disadvantages; but it may prove to be a great blessing to the native races and may relieve the missions of a task that is admittedly beyond their present powers. It will enable them to concentrate more fully upon the spiritual side of their work.

The emphasis of governments is likely to be upon education in the language of the ruling power, and this will leave the wide and fruitful field of vernacular education to the missionary. That field is, and will doubtless be for many generations, of supreme importance, for it is in the mother-tongue that the deepest truths can be taught. This seems to many of us the root of the success and expansion of the indigenous Church, for there is no other way in which the spiritual life can be nourished. I remember hearing, many years ago, Dr. J. K. Aggrey, the great African scholar, speak at an international missionary gathering, and I could not resist complimenting him upon the grace and chastity of his English. I shall never forget his reply, given with characteristic humility. "Well, I have worked very hard at English and I know a little; but," he added with a significant gesture, "*I cannot pray in English.*" There it is: the things of the soul can find full expression only in the mother-tongue. The missionary who ignores this simple fact is not likely to build up a truly indigenous Church.

This emphasis on the vernacular demands European teachers to teach teachers how to teach, so that village schools may be made more effective in educational technique and may have a

richer and more varied content. Men and women of scholarship will be required for translation work in the vernacular. The Bible, or parts of it, has already been translated into many scores of languages and dialects in the South Pacific; but better translations are required and there will be scope for trained linguists to make the language a fuller means of conveying spiritual truth and general knowledge to many thousands who will never know English well enough for it to be to them an effective medium of instruction.

Incidentally, this brings us to the question of a *lingua franca* for the whole Pacific, without which there can be little association of the Christian Churches, and thus very little hope of ecumenical Christianity. My own conviction is that this *lingua franca* must be Basic English; but this hobby-horse of mine I shall not mount in this present paper.

In connection with the growth of the indigenous Church, it should be emphasized that there is emerging a tendency that deserves encouragement. Hitherto, the several Churches have largely followed the denominational practices of the sending countries. The Roman Catholics have translated their "offices" into many vernaculars, and it is rather surprising how well many natives sing Latin hymns and respond to Latin prayers—even though they do not understand their meaning. The Church of England has translated the Book of Common Prayer, which is widely used by its people, while Methodists, Congregationalists, and Lutherans follow their own order of services. Most hymns, sung with great fervor by brown congregations, are translations of popular English hymns set to European tunes. Little by little, there is arising a feeling that native forms of poetry and of music should be introduced and that, in general, all worship should be nativized. I have already quoted in a recent publication on an extract from *Native*

Education and Culture Contact in New Guinea,¹ by W. C. Groves, one of our foremost educators among native people; but it is so important and significant that I take the liberty of quoting it again:

"I had seen," he writes, "many groups of native people whose attachment to Christianity appeared strong and sincere, but the situation at Sio (a small island) with no European nearby to direct the people in their difficulties, was different from all others. The whole life of the people in all its phases, seemed permeated by an ever-present sense of the reality of Christianity and an unshakeable belief in its teachings. Yet the people were essentially native. They went to their daily labours on the mainland cheerfully and regularly. Their evening meetings for the discussion of matters of common interest and the settlement of disputes, were orderly, and in all cases were satisfactory to all parties. There was indeed a profound inner harmony in the life on Sio such as I had not observed in any other place where European influences had been felt by the natives. I wondered why this should be so. And I was not long in learning the reason.

"I was awakened early each morning by the sound of voices raised in song, a type of musical expression whose like I had never before heard; primitive music, in fact. At that hour, not a native was to be seen around the houses. All were at *lotu* in the large assembly hall which had been constructed of native materials by the natives' own hands and without any guidance at all. That is to say, the church building was a native one, such as had served the peoples' needs in former times. It was from within that building, where the entire village was congregated, that the morning harmony came. I learned that the music consisted for the most part of former war-chants and airs connected with the natives' own primitive ceremonial life.

¹ Melbourne University Press.

To these, the natives themselves fitted appropriate Christian words. The singing was invariably begun by one or other of the old natives, mostly elders of *lotu*, who occupied positions in the front of the *house-lotu* (church assembly house). Here, then, was Christianity in a native setting, Christianity 'nativized.' The natives had taken it to themselves, and in the absence of European guidance, had found it natural to fit the new teaching into their very own, age-old, primitive background—in the form of the church assemblies, in the government of church affairs in the village, in song and story. And they had extended the Christian experience to other natives in such a form as to be readily understood by those natives. Sio, as I saw it, was becoming a radiating centre of a Christian life which was specially fitted to the native 'milieu,' and was acceptable to the natives because it was something that belonged to them. Just as the religious side of life had been all-pervasive in the old primitive culture, so the new religion had become inter-related with the whole of the life of the people in this modern time. The natives were not conscious of having taken over a religion that was of the white man; but they believed that they had found a new and satisfying form of religious expression which was peculiarly theirs. At nights, the natives used to sit on the ground in small groups round flickering hurricane lanterns, while one of their number who had been instructed by the former missionary, read with halting steps from his precious, bound, typed sheets, the lesson that the life and teachings of Christ, according to the interpretation of their far-seeing missionary, had meant to the people of Sio in their daily lives. To join with these groups of men and women, with small children sleeping on mats on the ground beside their parents, in these their precious hours of quiet and reverent study, was to realize the true significance, the implications, the real value in the contact-situation, of the idea of nativization."

Such an acclimatization of the Christian faith is one that we should foster, for thus alone will a stable Church be created and developed—one in essential faith with that of Christendom, but expressing itself in characteristic native form and genius.

The reality of this nativization of the Christian spirit was seen during the recent war. There were many who wondered how this infant Church would come through this terrible and faith-challenging experience. On the whole the results are truly heartening.

There was, necessarily, vast material destruction: whole villages were bombed out of existence, or swept away to make room for airstrips or for the deployment of war's devilish instruments. There are still many thousands of displaced persons in the South Pacific, and only after many years, if ever, will they be rehabilitated. Meanwhile, they are living miserably in alien countries with peoples who are not of their way of life and who do not conform to their social ideals.

The more important effect has been the disruption of the social and economic structure, that will take even longer to repair, and there will be permanent scars, if not running sores.

These relatively simple people, even where destruction and displacement have not taken place, have had forced upon them new and artificial standards of living. They have had much money showered upon them by the fighting services without any guidance in the spending of this astonishing wealth. There has grown up a love of money such as has so largely corrupted our own society. This has led to a fever of gambling and to an unwise and harmful expenditure upon noxious or useless things. Natives who have been in labor camps or in war areas have suffered a breakdown of moral standards and they have learned many new and coarse vices. The brown man has possibly learned more of the worst than of the best the white man offered him. The village society—the living cell of national

life—has been affected. The old time-honored village sanctions, so necessary to keep a primitive community together, have been largely abandoned, and now there is confusion and even chaos. That is the debit side of the ledger.

But there is another side.

Our Christians have, on the whole, maintained a high standard of fidelity and virtue during the war. The flood of money meant that they were able to put more aside for the work of the native Christian Church. In some of the war years Tonga and Samoa each contributed, from a mere handful of people, over 2,000 pounds to their Church funds. In some areas, the entire European missionary staff was either withdrawn by the military authorities or else carried off by the enemy. The native Churches had to stand on their own feet, and they stood nobly. Many of their loved European leaders were slain or lost in enemy action; but they themselves carried on the task with a faithfulness and ability that were outstanding. Many of these native Christians were really martyrs, and have joined that noble army. Here is a list, far from complete, of those who suffered in one of our mission fields:

Benjamin Talai, Native Probationer, Molot . .	Beheaded
Wiliam Taupa, Son of Talai, Teacher, Molot .	Beheaded
Romulus Aria, Teacher, Molot	Beheaded
Aisak Ravin, Teacher, Molot	Beheaded
Eron Temaren, Teacher, Molot	Beheaded
Meli To Kukuraina, Teacher, Molot	Beheaded
Iosapat To Wamilat, Teacher, Palipal	Beheaded
Daniel To Riqa, Teacher, Pirtop	Beheaded
Kilion Tamdip, Teacher, Siamin	Beheaded
Easau To Waira, Teacher, Urukuk	Shot
Iosep To Karai, Steward, Malot	Beheaded
Ioel Dono, Steward, Kait	Beheaded

Stanli Avig, Teacher, Nakukur	Shot
Aik Taqal, Member	Beheaded
Mori Gagau, Member	Beheaded
Kiaptug, Member	Beheaded
Elipat To Likot, Member	Beheaded

The war will bring great changes to organized religion in the South Pacific. Some of these changes may hasten the creation of the indigenous Church and incidentally make a contribution to ecumenical Christianity. It is something that the native Christians met so many Christians of other countries and races—British, American, Negro, Chinese, Dutch, and Japanese, and there is evidence that to them the Christian brotherhood was a reality both to the native and to the foreigner. They have a sense of belonging to a Church wider than they had ever imagined.

They will also be prepared to take greater responsibility in the management of their own Church affairs and with the inevitable increase in wages (previously from five shillings to ten shillings a *month*), they will be able to support more adequately their own native Christian staff. There will be a demand for more education, for more liberty, and for more responsibility; and it is at this point that ecumenical Christianity must bear part of the burden and so help and guide these growing Christian Churches that in the long years ahead they may be worthy members of the great world-wide Church of Jesus Christ.

We must hope and pray that there may arise new leaders with shining brown faces, dark liquid eyes, who will be the Apostles of a New Age in the South Pacific.

HAWAII AND MICRONESIA

J. Leslie Dunstan

THE CHURCHES in Hawaii were, before the war, characterized by diversity and separateness. They were Churches composed of different racial groups; they were established under different circumstances; they were of different denominational affiliations; and they were tied into the different strata of a relatively settled social order. Hawaiian Churches were old Churches which retained a connection with the traditions and practices of a people converted to Christianity before the full impact of westernization had been felt. The Caucasian Churches were duplicates of those with which the members were familiar in the places they left in coming to the Islands; and the Churches of the various Oriental peoples were the results of missionary efforts carried on in the Islands and thus were combinations of western Christianity and a tolerant acceptance of alien ways. Furthermore, the Caucasian Churches were made up of the owners and managers of industry, the Oriental Churches of laborers, semiskilled workers, and small-scale independent operators of one kind or another, and the Hawaiian Churches were of people who had made a somewhat tenuous connection with the main streams of life. Again, the Churches were Methodist, Episcopal, Congregational, with a scattering of other denominations and sects. Between the three denominations there was little conflict, each working in areas of the Territory mutually agreed upon either verbally or in writing. There was

but little emphasis upon denominational differences and little active co-operation among denominations. And, then, there were the young people, children of Church members and children of non-Christians, educated in a thoroughly American school system, growing up in the communities where the churches were located. They were more united than their parents, for they had felt the full impact of western life throughout their years; but they showed, even through the unity, differences which came from the racial ancestry of their parents. They represented another element in Church life, for the strength of their attachment to the Churches, their understanding of the Christian faith, and their outlooks on life as a whole were different from those of the older generation.

The Churches, then, had diverse characteristics because of the composition of their membership. Moreover, there had been little to draw them together into a larger fellowship with overt and conscious forms of expression. The Churches of each racial group held union meetings occasionally, gatherings that were obviously brought about by the common heritage of the people. The various denominations, of course, had their own organizations, and in that way Churches were brought together regardless of their diverse characteristics. But these meetings were mainly for the transaction of business and the promotion of programs, matters which did not raise the problem of real unity among Church people. And the young people were following two courses of action, on the one hand doing those things in Church life which their parents did, and, on the other hand, meeting by themselves with gatherings and programs of their own. This latter development had not been going long enough to show any tangible results. The separateness of the local Churches was far stronger than the ties which had been built among them.

The war broke on Hawaii suddenly and brought about an

immediate and shattering series of changes in the lives of the people. The territory was placed under military rule; stringent regulations were imposed that restricted and directed activity; heavy demands for labor were made upon the population; hundreds of thousands of servicemen came to and through the Islands; local young people went into the service and were scattered across the world; new economic opportunities appeared and were grasped by the residents; and with all this came new influences and new vitalities which moved through all life. It was as though some huge giant had hurled a multitude of strangers upon the shores of Hawaii and then had given the Islands a thorough shaking up.

This has had a number of noticeable effects upon the churches.

1. The number of people active in the churches is less. People moved from their home communities to engage in war work, and they have not returned. Nor have they entered into Church life in their new places of residence. Other people, who remained in their home communities, went into wār work, and gave up participation in church affairs when they did so. The young men who went into the services were taken from the churches, and up to now it is not certain that they will go back to the churches upon their return to the Islands. The war years took away from the churches a percentage of their membership, weakening them numerically. And because the people who left the churches were mainly the younger, stronger ones, for they were the ones whose efforts were required by the war, older people and children remained.

2. The influence of the Churches upon society was notably lessened during the war. This came about, on the one hand, through the loss of membership, but more importantly, on the other hand, because the social turmoil of the war years released forces which had not before appeared. For example, a strong

labor movement came into being, enrolling in the major industries of the Territory many workers who were nominal Church members. And that labor movement has already made its existence felt. Other groups and organizations have also been formed which are now molding society, giving promise of increasing their effectiveness as time passes. In the presence of these new social configurations, the Churches are nearly overshadowed. They have little to say, for the majority of people in them are outside the circles of the forces now moving through the population; and when they do speak, their words are drowned out by the more powerful voices of other groups.

3. The war years presented the Churches with a number of moral problems. As the population was uprooted and moved around, a moral laxness appeared and the rather strict moral code which had guided the members of the Churches began to break down. Forms of behavior which once were frowned upon and made the cause for ecclesiastical discipline began to be accepted within the Churches even if they were not wholly approved. The service personnel added to this trend. Some of them, members of Churches at home, were amazed to find what they considered to be outmoded puritanical ways still holding dominance over life; and openly said so. That those men were obviously sincere in their religious profession and in many respects highly moral gave their critical comments considerable weight. Others of the service personnel drew Church people into immoral practices from which the stable social order had earlier protected them. The result is that the Churches are now experiencing a degree of moral confusion. The somewhat rigidly held patterns of conduct, some of them coming from various cultural traditions, have been called in question, and the people find it difficult to know just what they should or should not do.

4. The service personnel who came to the Islands introduced

strange religious ideas and practices to the Church people, at least among certain sections. The service men whose Church experience was within one of the larger denominations tended to go to the Caucasian churches while they were in Hawaii, since in them were worship forms and practices similar to those at home. The influence of these servicemen upon the total Church life of the Islands was therefore practically negligible. But service personnel whose experience was in the emotional and separatist cults tended to go to the non-Caucasian churches and to introduce their own forms of religious expression to those churches. In addition, denominations and sects which had not been in Hawaii sent workers during the war to minister to servicemen of their own persuasion. Having arrived, those workers extended their efforts to the Island population and established churches among them. To groups of people who were not possessed of a clear understanding of the Christian faith and knew practically nothing of the divisions and tensions within western Christianity, the meeting with all these new ideas and ways has been upsetting. Out of this, new divisions among the Church people threaten.

5. The war effort actually engulfed Hawaii in the full sweep of the western world, so that the people of the Territory felt for the first time the full impact of the forces in that world. The materialism, driving self-interest, and individualism of the West have as a consequence become overt in the population. Inevitably, these forces have begun to move through and to have an effect upon the Churches.

Yet alongside these conditions which the war years have brought to the Churches, conditions which might well be termed liabilities, there are others which might be counted as assets.

1. The Church people have been forced into the position of having to find out why they are Church people and what their

membership in that institution means. They have been challenged, as it were, to give reason for their allegiance and, not being able to do so in any coherent and intelligible fashion, they have set out on a search. They would probably not be able to state the case in this way, but the new interest in Bible study, the experimentation in religious forms and practices, the continuous questioning which is going on, are all evidences that people in the Churches are seeking to discover why they are there. For some of them, particularly the younger people, faithfulness to the Church requires them to be somewhat at odds with the larger movements in society, and they would know the justification for their action. And as membership in a Church becomes more clearly to mean allegiance to a group that has no particular standing in society and no obvious influence upon it, the necessity of finding some certain reason for implementing that membership becomes all the more pressing.

2. The Churches have been thrown together because of the circumstances of the past few years. They have been made to know that they belong in a larger whole in a much clearer way than the earlier perfunctory inter-Church gatherings ever taught them. Yet this experience has two contradictory aspects to it. On the one hand, it has made people more conscious than before of the differences which separate them. People of different races can get along together so long as they possess a fair measure of tolerance and do not have to struggle either against or with each other in a corporate enterprise. Under those circumstances, there is little to bring out any accent upon differences. But when people of different races are put together in one institution which, because of its position, must work out its life, then differences become of importance. On the other hand, this coming together of the Churches has given meaning to the idea of unity, which earlier was nothing but an idea. So there now appears among Church people a consciousness that

they are tied to each other because of their Christian faith; yet as they work together they realize more fully the differences between them. The separateness of the Churches has been broken; but the diversities have assumed much more significance.

3. The Churches now seek to discover not only why they are but also the reason for their being. They need to know the task that is theirs. And this problem has been forced upon them during the war years. As groups with specific aims and purposes have arisen in society, people both inside and outside the Church have openly asked why the Church exists. Before the war, in the stable society which existed, the question was hardly raised, for the Churches were accepted as part of the landscape. They were there, because they belonged in and with the orders of living. But now, as society has been shaken and as influential forces have appeared within that society, the Churches are being required to state their purpose and their function.

Measured by the tests of numbers, resources, and social position (which the West so often uses), the Churches in Hawaii have suffered during the past few years. They were caught up in a social maelstrom and have emerged from it numerically smaller, mentally, emotionally, and morally confused, and face to face with a virile materialism. The results of more than a century of consecrated missionary labor have been tried beyond all expectation, long before the time when commonsense would say that such a test should be applied. The condition of the Churches now is no cause for surprise; the surprising thing is that the Churches remain organized and active. And then, when Churches are judged in spiritual terms, they appear to have been led to the place where now doors of insight and experience are open to them. For the trials of the war years have made it imperative for the Churches to dig more deeply

into the truths of the Christian faith in order to discover the wisdom and strength they now need.

As the Churches move into the future, one thing stands out clearly as the central element in all that may happen. That element is the willingness and ability of the Church people to live with and respond to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Every difficulty which the Churches face must be met in this way if the Churches are true to themselves. There are other possibilities in the situation which the Churches may use, but then they would be using human powers and wisdom. For example, the Churches must gain some kind of unity among themselves now; that is an inescapable task. And in order to do so, they must either limit or transcend the differences which are so marked between them. They can, through organization and promotion, gain a uniformity of action, but that will only cover up the diversity. They can wait another generation or so until the diversities have been wiped out in a general westernization. But even if they succeed in staying alive through the time of waiting, they will then be but an institution in a western society. The Gospel speaks of God's family, in which all races shall join, a spiritual family tied together by the common bond of the Master's life; the Gospel promises inclusion in that family to all who serve God faithfully. It may be that the Churches of Hawaii will find that promise fulfilled for them and thus know the unity which circumstance has placed before them.

The same thing is true in respect to the forms of religious expression and the ways of right behavior which the Churches must find. They can take these things from others and live by them through the power of their own determination. They may even come to discover significance in those borrowed tools. But it would be better if the means of expression for religious faith were to come creatively from spirits which had been

touched by God's power. Then the whole richness of the varied traditions represented in Hawaii's population might flow into a uniquely ordered existence which had its ground in the Christian faith. And in a very similar way, the Christian faith may be the means by which the Church people discover why they are and what their task is. They can find answers to those questions through human wisdom, answers that will make of the Churches social institutions with a certain degree of effectiveness. They can also become groups of people who cut themselves off from society, and live wholly unto themselves. But if the Churches are to find their true task they will do so through the Gospel which brought them into being.

Toynbee, in his *Study of History*, uses the illustration of men climbing a precipice to suggest how it is that life moves onward. He speaks of men who reached a ledge; some just sat there worn out by their efforts, others tried to consolidate their position on the ledge. But a few struggled on upward. They did not know what was above them; they knew only that they had to climb. Even so are the Churches in Hawaii. They were founded through a response men made to the Christian message, and that response resulted in a certain level of Christian experience. Now those Churches have been shaken by the turmoil of the war-years. They could try, if they so chose, to reestablish and consolidate their former positions. But the way leads forward. The Churches may press on in the certainty that as they do, God will vouchsafe to them deeper and richer experiences than they have known before, experiences that will meet the needs of tomorrow even as their earlier experiences met the needs of yesterday.

The state of the Churches in Micronesia is similar in some basic respects to that of the Churches in Hawaii. They, too, were caught up in the war and now have to find themselves

again. Those Churches were the results wholly of missionary efforts. They were Churches of native people and were the centers of native life. Many primitive ways remained, and a primitive society existed with its organization and its forces. Yet it had been touched and molded by Christianity. Life was a Christian primitivism, if such terms may be used.

There had been other contacts between the Islands and the outside world besides those with missionaries; but they had been relatively incidental and superficial. Various national governments had been in control of the Islands and had maintained administrative personnel in them. Economically, the Islands were of little importance, so that no large foreign trading centers existed nor had there been any attempt at exploitation. The natives produced certain crops which from time to time were gathered up by trading vessels. A small number of the Islands had been developed as parts of a larger military strategy, but this had likewise scarcely touched the native life.

The Churches were, therefore, organizations of the native people, presided over by native pastors, and advised by a few foreign missionaries. Those Churches taught a simple yet rigorous morality, provided some instruction in civilized ways, and acted as the molding and authoritative force in society.

The war moved directly into the Islands. Servicemen were billeted there, air-bases built and battles fought. Almost overnight, a primitive people were caught up in a world-activity and forced to become part of it. They were subjected to all its varied influences, moved from their homes because of it, and even employed by it. Their whole way of life, and that involved the Churches, was struck a hard blow by the forces which descended upon them.

Yet now that the war is over the future is not clear, for certain decisions which can be exceedingly influential in what-

ever may happen have apparently not yet been made. In one sense, the world has left the Islands to themselves, for the use to which they were put by the warring powers is now ended. But in another sense, the Islands have not been left alone. It is not yet known what disposition will be made of them, what power or powers will be placed in control over them, and what the controlling authority will seek to do with them. If, for example, all forces of outside influence are withdrawn with the exception of a minimum government supervision, the future will hold one general line of development. If, however, the Islands are exploited for economic or political reasons, their future will be otherwise; while should the controlling power seek, through education and expert direction, to incorporate the people into its own civilization, the future will be still different. So it is that the life of the Islands, and thus of the Churches, waits upon decisions in which the native peoples will have no part.

Christian missionaries have already returned to their bases in the Islands. They have found the Churches still there, with their organizations and some of their leaders. They have also found a disrupted population. Western moral, social, and economic ways introduced by the armed forces have had their effect. Native life, as it was, does not exist any more. The Church people are called upon to find through the Gospel new resources of spiritual power, new insights into life, and new ways of living. But whether they are to be able to set about this task now and gradually build an ordered existence for themselves out of their disordered state is not wholly theirs to decide. Other elements may be introduced into the situation and other outside plans be imposed upon them which may add further complications. The test which is imposed on the Churches of Micronesia is indeed heavy. Yet, for them, too, God has a purpose.

V

THE AMERICAS

I
THE UNITED STATES

Walter M. Horton

A GENERATION ago, the American Churches were about to succumb to the mood of frustrated idealism and general disillusionment which swept over the country after the Peace of Versailles. Having for the most part supported the First World War in a crusading spirit curiously lacking in the second, they were dreadfully disappointed when the results of victory failed to come up to expectations. For some time after the war, idealistic hopes of a "New Age" persisted, reaching a climax in the magnificent but abortive program of the Inter-Church World Movement. The disastrous collapse of this movement, coupled with shock at the renewed national rivalries which followed the "war to end war," made the Churches very susceptible to reactionary disillusionment. American isolationism was combatted by some of the Churches on the Atlantic seaboard, but, farther west, Christian motives combined with nationalistic motives to swell the isolationist wave.

The motto now is: "Not that way again." During the Second World War, the American Churches kept their heads, and refused to "present arms" or declare a Crusade just because their country had been attacked. "The Church is not at war," insisted the *Christian Century*. "The true Church can not and the institutional Church ought not to act as a belligerent, nor even as an unarmed cobelligerent, in any war," said the Calhoun

Commission.¹ If anything, the Churches were *too* consistent in maintaining this attitude. Someone needed to interpret the profound moral issues of this amazing war to the men who fought it. No one effectually did. The men fought dully and doggedly, to get the dirty job over with, and get home.

But if the Churches over-corrected their former crusading attitude, they also decisively reversed their former isolationism. Long before our statesmen were prepared to commit the United States to the troubled sea of world politics, our Churchmen were urging the necessity of such a step, and in the end they prevailed. Nothing in recent years has so clearly demonstrated the power of Christian public opinion in the life of the nation as did the work of the Federal Council's Commission on the Bases of Just and Durable Peace, under the chairmanship of John Foster Dulles. Through the National Study Conference which it called at Delaware (1942) and Cleveland (1945) and the able educational work which it carried on constantly during the years between, it counted as a major factor in overcoming traditional isolationism in America; and it is likely to prove a major factor in keeping American courage and resolution from flagging during the years of trial and disappointment which the United Nations must surely endure. This time, the Churches' idealism has not been pitched so high that a few disappointments will suffice to cast it into the pit of disillusionment. Patient faith that already discounts the inevitable post-war reaction and looks beyond it is the present mood of the American Churches at their best.

Passing from general tone to particular aspects of Church life, we may say that the present state of the American Churches is (1) more unified and more ecumenical; (2) characterized more by group leadership and less by the dominance of a few

¹ Appointed by the Federal Council to make a careful study of the Churches in a warring world. Its notable report was published in 1944. Editor.

great leaders; (3) more Biblical and doctrinal, less emotional and activistic in their methods of propagating the Gospel; (4) facing a more radically secularized and perilous situation, and more deeply conscious of the need of radical religious renewal, than was the case a generation ago.

To their brethren in other lands, the American Churches present a confusing and bewildering spectacle. Two hundred fifty-six religious bodies with autonomous organizations—how can such a confusion of tongues testify to the power of the Prince of Peace! But the disunity of the American Churches is more apparent than real. Their structure resembles the structure of the atom: a heavy positive nucleus at the center, composed of the twenty-eight Churches belonging to the World Council of Churches², and two hundred twenty-eight negative, non-co-operating but lighter bodies revolving about the central nucleus at various distances—some too conservative to join, some too liberal to join, but altogether failing to exert a centrifugal pull strong enough to counter-balance the centripetal pull of the nuclear twenty-eight.

While the non-co-operative "fringe" contains some large conservative bodies such as the Southern Baptists, the Missouri Synod Lutherans, and of course, the Roman Catholics, together with some large radical bodies such as the Mormons and Christian Scientists, it is principally composed of small, enthusiastic sects—sometimes classified as "premillenarian, perfectionist, and pentacostal"—whose life cycle follows a clear-cut pattern; first generation, rapid growth, numbers more than doubled in fifteen years sometimes; second generation, slower growth, more concern for education of young people; third generation, decline of sectarian spirit, increasing desire for

² Most of these are also members of the Federal Council. Two hundred of the non-member denominations enroll a total of only two per cent of all Protestants. Editor.

fraternity with other Churches. The constant emergence of new sects helps to maintain the vitality and freedom of American Christianity, while the older Churches preserve its unity and continuity. Viewed in this light, our 228 bodies form an intelligible Christian cosmos, quite different, of course, from other Christian areas, but not a hopeless chaos.

During the critical years just passed, the gains of the unified center have been steady and durable, though not so spectacular as the rocket-like ascension of some of the new sects. The need of common utterance and common action on great public questions has put new pressure, new responsibility, on the agencies of inter-Church co-operation, and their power has grown as they have risen to the emergency. The community Church movement, already strong in many localities, has developed an overhead organization through which the larger world beyond the local community can be served. City-wide federations and State-wide councils of Churches have grown in membership and usefulness. The Federal Council of Churches has established itself firmly in the general esteem of the nation, by its wise decisions on public issues. The Episcopalians, the Southern Presbyterians, the Brethren, and two Eastern Orthodox bodies, Russian and Ukrainian, are the latest new members. Two rivals of the Federal Council, the American Council of Christian Churches and the National Association of Evangelicals, were organized during the war—which proves both the importance of the function the Council performs, and the difficulty of carrying it out to the unanimous satisfaction of all. A merger of the Federal Council with seven other co-operative agencies attained practical effectiveness for wartime emergency service, though not yet officially consummated.

American membership in the World Council of Churches has steadily increased since the provisional organization was set up at Utrecht—in spite of some real dissatisfaction with the

proposed theological basis of union—and it may be safely predicted that the American Churches will be heavily represented at the first Assembly in 1948. Most popular of all is the World Council's program for European reconstruction, which has already brought about a noticeable change in the post-war relations of the American and European Churches. After the First World War, the American Churches were anxious to help the European Churches, as they are again today; but the aid they gave was sporadic, competitive, and sometimes at cross purposes with the desires of the Europeans, whereas, today, the aid is much better coordinated, and largely guided by the expressed desires of the war-devastated countries. Despite its pitifully understaffed and inadequately financed condition, the infant World Council of Churches is steadily rising in the respect and affection of our American Churches.

The generation that fought the First World War was led to Christian commitment by a triumvirate of great lay leaders, continuators of the tradition of lay evangelism which formerly centered at Northfield in Dwight L. Moody. No one who went to student conferences or Church mass meetings in those days could be in any doubt as to who the real leaders of American Christendom were. Their names were Mott, Speer, Eddy—the inevitable three to call upon when a Christian movement was to be launched or a national convention held. Among the clergy, there were also giants in those days. Harry Emerson Fosdick in New York, the venerable George A. Gordon in Boston, and many other outstanding preachers continued the tradition of Beecher and Brooks in a new mood and tense; and their voices were heard far across the land—without the aid of radio.

Most of these great leaders have lived on, and been active beyond the normal age of retirement, but they have had no comparable successors. There are no inevitable speakers at conferences and mass meetings today. The giants have had no

individual successors, unless perhaps the great missionary triumvirate, Stanley Jones, Walter Judd, and Frank Laubach, might be nominated for the succession. What is very impressive, by contrast, is the emergence of many *groups and group movements*, which are picking up the leadership laid down by the giants. The Oxford Group Movement is greater than Frank Buchman. The new group of twelve evangelists (including some former Oxford Groupers along with Rufus Jones, Stanley Jones, and others), which has lately published a manifesto called *Together*, is much more powerful collectively than even such individuals as Rufus and Stanley Jones could be by themselves. In all parts of the country, theological discussion groups and informal groups for Christian fellowship and action are multiplying. They tend to be clerical rather than lay groups, so far; but the Methodist New Life Movement is beginning to reenlist laymen as Christian workers and evangelists. What our generation can hope for is probably not the speedy appearance of new Motts and Speers, but a slow process of lay education which will raise up, in each profession and calling, men of Christian conscience and faith, who will *together* lay claim once more to the nation's *collective* life, in the name of Christ.

The traditional emphasis in Christian evangelism, a generation ago, was emotional—an appeal to the will by way of the feelings, designed to bring the individual to “full surrender” to Christ. Opposed to this traditional emphasis was the pragmatic or activistic emphasis of the Religious Education Movement, which aimed at the gradual development of Christian character through the facing of problems and the undertaking of projects in practical Christian living. Both of these emphases tended somewhat to minimize the importance of historic background and intellectual content in the Christian message. The Bible itself was studied as a collection of inspirational

passages which might bring one to conversion, or, on the other hand, as affording suggestions for the solution of modern social problems; its own central teachings and historic meaning easily became obscured.

It would be an exaggeration to claim that the two tendencies just described have passed away. The "Youth for Christ Movement," which has gathered multitudes of young people together in the past year, is almost purely emotional in its appeal. The urgency of ethical and social issues in our time gives force to the contentions of those who would confront Christians, young and old, with these issues and challenge them to demonstrate their faith in action. But there is a marked tendency in recent years to emphasize the importance of the historic background and intellectual content of the Christian message, not to the exclusion of the emotional and pragmatic emphases, but to balance and supplement them. How can Christianity be taken to heart or applied in action, if one has only a vague idea of what it is all about? Ignorance of the contents of the Bible and the essential teachings of Christianity has become so widespread among our laymen that they are demanding instruction along these lines, and hungrily devouring whatever is offered. Some have turned to Roman Catholicism or Christian Science because these faiths are at least definite in their teachings, whereas Protestant teaching has become vague and confusing.

The most noteworthy tendency in contemporary Christian literature and Christian evangelism is that just mentioned. The Bible itself is being studied afresh, in new translations, as though it were a wholly new and unfamiliar book—full of exciting discoveries. Books interpreting the essential Christian ideas for laymen are multiplying. In the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the Christian Youth Movements, the meaning of the "C"—what being a Christian implies intellectually—is being vigorously explored. Missionary work, without abandoning

the emphasis upon clothing the Gospel in deeds—medical, agricultural missions, and so forth—is increasingly theological in its concern. But likewise we must note a *mystical* and *liturgical* movement of rising importance. The culture of the devotional life, the art of common worship, are marked concerns of old and young alike. This concern appears in the popularity of mystical literature, the forming of “cells” and communities for mutual self-discipline, and the wide appeal of stately liturgy and symbolism to the needs of young and old. A generation ago, the non-observance of Good Friday was almost a mark of loyalty to Protestantism; today, the whole Christian Year is being reinstated in Protestant Churches formerly non-liturgical.

At the close of the First World War, the American Churches did not yet know the depth of the world-crisis they were facing. They supposed the war to have been a temporary halt in the progress of Christian civilization, not the beginning of its breakup. It did not occur to them that their cherished religious liberties might be seriously threatened by new tyrannies, or that Christianity itself might be attacked and officially proscribed in countries which had been Christian for a thousand years. The European “Theology of Crisis,” when it first became known in this country, seemed inexplicably perverse and anachronistic. We went on trying to keep “up to date” in our theology, squaring our theology with the latest “advances” of science and philosophy if we believed it could be consistently done (modernism) or fighting against these modern trends of Christianity (fundamentalism).

Now, however, the basic assumption of modernism (progress) has been undercut by tragic events. Since the great economic depression hit us in 1929, we have come to see that the modern age which began with the Renaissance and Reformation is not going on with its development, but entering into successive

stages of dissolution. This impression has been deepened by the Second World War and absolutely clinched by the dramatic double detonation—Hiroshima! Nagasaki!—with which it closed. Strange paradox, that modern science should so recently have been used to prove that Hebrew apocalyptic modes of thought were “outmoded,” and the “progress of mankind onward and upward forever” was assured; whereas the latest development of this same science has brought us into a new apocalyptic age, when the end of the world is expected at almost any time!

The position of the Churches in this shaken world is certainly more precarious than it was, but their realization of danger is a positive blessing, from which good results may be hoped. The greatest danger has always been internal and invisible. Not the threat to our Protestant liberties from Catholicism or Communism, whose hostility to our principles is real enough, but the threat from a gradually secularized culture, which we had supposed under our dominating influence, which instead was steadily moving toward the point where it would begin to serve other gods and defy the God of our fathers—that was and is the great danger. The realization of this danger began in the thirties to send us in search of a citadel of heavenly safety, independent of the state of earthly culture. We began to go “neo-orthodox,” as our European brethren had done before us. It has been a good and necessary thing to make Christianity more dependent upon its own divine charter and divine resources, less dependent upon the surrounding world. But if the surrounding world is to be saved from impending calamity and brought in some real measure under God’s good rule, an “independent” Christian message is not enough. The message must not be allowed to become unintelligible. It must be related to the needs and conditions of men in every walk of life, which means a revival of the work of adaptation and

interpretation for which Christian liberalism has always stood. Something of a liberal revival took place during the war, and it will continue as we labor at the tasks of reconstruction. But this new liberalism can converse and collaborate with the new orthodoxy, as modernism could not with fundamentalism. In such conversation and collaboration between (a) Christians concerned to preserve the purity of the Word of God and (b) Christians concerned with the incarnation of that Word in modern daily life, the hope of our Churches principally lies in these great and difficult days.

LATIN AMERICA

W. Stanley Rycroft

WHILE it is true to say that Latin America is one of the few large areas of the world which escaped the ravages and destruction of World War II, nevertheless the people of these countries have suffered many hardships as a result of wartime dislocation and emergency. The end of the war, far from bringing relief, has seen an aggravation of many of the economic and social ills.

How has the intense and complex war experience affected the Protestant Church? It is safe to say that the Church has emerged strengthened and enlarged. When Stanley Jones returned to South America in the spring of 1945, he found a different situation entirely from the one he saw seventeen years earlier. "When I was there before," he said, "the Evangelical Church was on the periphery. Now it has moved into the center of national life." On D-Day, in Rosario, Argentina, he heard crowds booing the Catholic Church and shouting: "Down with clericalism!" He came back with the conviction that many people now identify the Roman Catholic Church with reaction and Fascism and the Protestant Church with freedom and democracy. This has stimulated a new interest in the meaning and content of the Evangelical message.

In every country he visits, Dr. George P. Howard, Evangelist under the auspices of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, finds responsive crowds and eager, enquiring minds.

Writing from Argentina, Dr. Howard said that never had he heard so many sermons or read so many articles on freedom and democracy. The opportunity is so overwhelming, he says, that he is afraid we lack the necessary leadership in the Church to meet it.

In Brazil, Dr. H. C. Tucker feels that there is more interest in and appreciation of non-Roman Christianity on the part of the more thoughtful and cultured Brazilians than during the whole period of sixty years which he has spent there as a missionary. Evangelism, education, and social welfare activities have reached whole communities. Wartime measures, which for a period restricted the entrance of foreign missionaries, served to awaken inquiry and bring the Protestant Church into greater prominence. Two Protestant chaplains rendered signal service with the forces in Italy. The Brazilian General's commendation of them, and the notice of special awards, were widely published in the secular press and made a deep impression on the country.

In Colombia, the Protestant Churches have emerged from the war numerically stronger. The number of both foreign and national Christian workers has increased as has also membership in the Churches and the number of children enrolled in mission schools. In spite of intense Roman Catholic opposition, there are many more inquirers than before, and there are even signs of a great evangelistic awakening.

One of the most positive demonstrations of the growth of the Evangelical movement in the Latin American countries was seen during the Latin American Evangelical Youth Conference in Havana, Cuba, in August, 1946. An open-air evening meeting was held in the huge Amphitheater in Havana. Under the great arched heavens, with the bright stars and pale moon looking down on them, over six thousand people gathered to witness to their Evangelical faith. One can never forget the

deep emotion and the spiritual uplift as one joined with that vast multitude in the singing of Luther's great hymn "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," and "Onward, Christian Soldiers." Here was in miniature the virile Evangelical Church of Latin America. Here was the evidence of one of the great facts of contemporary Latin American history, the coming into being of the Evangelical Church and the Evangelical community. This community is now making itself felt in most of the Latin American countries. It emphasizes ethical standards of living, basic human rights such as freedom to worship God according to one's conscience, and good citizenship.

Protestantism is primarily a lay movement rather than an ecclesiastical system. The idea of a clerical hierarchy is entirely foreign to it. Though it believes in a trained ministry, yet its chief strength lies in its lay persons, both men and women. Active Christians now occupy prominent positions in the professions and in national life, especially in countries like Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina. Dr. Eugene R. Kellersberger, of the American Mission to Lepers, on a visit to Mexico in 1946, was surprised to find a Mexican Presbyterian Medical Association, and he tells of having a three-hour conference with ten Mexican Evangelical doctors. Sr. Rodríguez, leading furniture dealer in Mexico City, is a prominent Presbyterian, and exerts a wide influence in the community. On a recent visit to Cuba, the writer found that many of the graduates of our Evangelical schools are now leading professionals or occupying positions of influence in government and civic life. A young Peruvian doctor in Lima has opened a clinic near the church of which his father is pastor and is giving medical advice and attention free to the poor. During the war, the mayor of Barranquilla, Colombia, was an active Protestant Churchman. During his term of office he played a leading part in the literacy campaign. Noticeably, in the last few years, lay-

men have assumed more and more responsibility in the Church. The strongest lay leadership perhaps is found in the Brazilian Churches. One report from Brazil says that "intelligent, consecrated lay participation and leadership in the Evangelical movement is increasing, is appreciated more and more by the membership of the Churches, and is attracting attention and exerting a wholesome influence on the general public. Literature on the subject of lay responsibility and stewardship, laymen's and women's societies in the Churches, and young people's organizations are having an educational influence and creating vision among the members."

The war has accelerated the changes taking place in Latin America with regard to the place of women in the social and economic order. Protestant missionary work in education and social welfare has been a potent factor in bringing about these changes. In Brazil, as well as in other countries, there has been a notable increase in the training and use of professional nurses, in courses in domestic economy, and in the participation of girls and young women in athletics and outdoor sports.

Miss Elizabeth M. Lee, secretary for Latin America of the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, describes meeting the alumnae association of the former Puebla Normal School in Mexico. This once-famous institution was closed in 1935 because of government restrictions. On a recent visit, Miss Lee met with a group of former students now professional women, teachers, writers, poets, and lecturers. Their chief concern was to plan for another normal school. "Carefully, these women, experienced educators, have laid their plans," says Miss Lee, "negotiating first of all with the government for the necessary federal license. A financial campaign has been carried on for months, and every alumna has been asked to make her contribution toward the capital fund with which to start the school. A

Committee was in frequent consultation with the Educational Committee of the Conference to make sure that all plans made were in harmony with the Church. . . . The alumnae argue that Mexico will build 24,000 new schools in the next four years and that the Protestant churches have a responsibility in preparing girls to be teachers." Since this report was written, the normal school has been opened with forty-two students enrolled.

During the war years, the Evangelical Youth Movement in Latin America began to develop rapidly. Latin American delegates to the Amsterdam Youth Conference, held on the eve of the outbreak of the war in 1939, returned with new vision and enthusiasm for the task before them in their own countries. Leadership for the continental movement came chiefly from Argentina and Uruguay, and plans were soon under way for the first Latin American Youth Conference. Held in Lima, Peru, in 1941, this conference gave a great impetus to the movement throughout Latin America. Once the requisite number of eight national youth movements had accepted the basis of organization and the principles laid down at Lima, the Latin American Evangelical Youth Movement came into being. The second conference, held at Havana, Cuba, in August, 1946, was attended by sixty-seven official delegates from seventeen countries and twenty denominations. This was immediately followed by a United Hemisphere Youth Conference with delegates from the Youth Movements of Canada and the United States. This was the first time such a conference had ever been held. A basis was laid for Inter-American Co-operation among youth. One commission in this united conference studied the Ecumenical Movement.

Both of these latter conferences were ecumenical in spirit and outlook. It is interesting to note how the young people, more so than the older members of our Churches, are conscious of

the oneness of the Church of Christ and are striving to grasp its implications.

Preparatory to the Havana Conference, the Evangelical youth of Brazil held a conference which lasted six days in São Paulo in June, 1946. Two thousand people attended the opening session. Official delegates came from Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational, Salvation Army, and other groups. One of the forward-looking findings of the Conference was that, in view of the world problems to be solved, involving grave responsibilities for Christian youth, the members of the Conference "reaffirm their ideas of spiritual unity above all religious, sacramental, and doctrinal sectarianism."

Similar conferences have been held in recent years in Argentina and Mexico and they reveal the growth of the Evangelical Youth Movement in Latin America.

The Student Christian Movement also received an impulse resulting in growth and development during the war, with secretaries giving full time to this work in several communities. The visit of Dr. John R. Mott in 1940 and 1941 helped to lay new foundations to work among students. In the University of Puerto Rico, there are six hundred Evangelical students and they have their own student pastor. Four Latin American delegates attended the World's Student Christian Federation meeting in Geneva in July, 1946 to plan the Oslo Conference in 1947.

A consideration of how far co-operation has developed in recent years in Latin America is of great importance. The tendency to proliferation in Protestantism is seen in Latin America as elsewhere. There are many small, independent groups and some faith missions, which not only do not co-operate with other more stable or organized missions but actively combat co-operation in different ways. This lack of co-operation and unity of spirit is unfortunate, especially in

view of two considerations. First, the field is so large and the opportunity so great that Protestants should work more in unity of purpose. Secondly, the Roman Catholic Church always uses the argument of the divisions among Protestants to try to prove that the Roman Catholic Church alone is the true Church of Christ. In some countries, the number of mission societies, especially of the independent type, has increased. In Colombia, eight new mission agencies opened work during the war. Wartime restrictions, difficulties of securing entrance for missionaries, were factors which led to the formation of an Evangelical Mission Officers' Council. This organization rendered great service, especially to new groups in Colombia. After the war ended, however, there seemed to be less co-operation in Colombia than there was some years ago.

The greatest obstacle to co-operation is still the existence of strong denominational bias and a pronounced conservatism on the part of many missionaries and national workers in Latin America.

In spite of the difficulties, great progress in co-operation has been made during the war and since. The threat to religious liberty, which was keenly felt during the war in most of Latin America, tended to draw Protestant groups together. The Confederation of Evangelical Churches in the River Plata was strengthened by the addition of new members. The Confederation had become the focal point in the fight for religious freedom. When the pastoral letter of the archbishops and bishops of Argentina attacked the Protestant movement, it was the Confederation which not only rallied Protestant sentiment with its splendid, dignified reply, but also evoked sympathy on the part of many outside the Protestant Church.

National councils of Church Federations exist in the River Plata, Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Cuba, Chile, Puerto Rico, and Guatemala. Some of them have developed considerably during

the war. Younger leaders with wider vision and greater eagerness to see effective co-operation among the Protestant forces are taking the place of older leaders.

In some countries, these co-operative organizations are becoming the authentic voice of Protestantism in public affairs and in relations with governments. They were able to represent the major Protestant denominations in times of emergency and were particularly effective in speaking out in defense of the principle of religious liberty and the rights of minority groups.

These organizations have engaged effectively in united programs or projects in the fields of evangelism, literature, literacy, and religious education. Evangelistic campaigns have been organized and public lectures in churches and theaters have been arranged for visiting speakers such as Dr. Stanley Jones, Dr. George P. Howard, Dr. John A. Mackay, Dr. T. Z. Koo, Mr. Alberto Rembao, and others, during 1945 and 1946.

Perhaps the outstanding co-operative effort has been in the field of literacy and literature. The exceedingly high rate of illiteracy in Latin America constitutes one of the most challenging problems before the Evangelical movement. Dr. Frank C. Laubach, under the auspices of the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature, has made three visits to Latin America. These visits have been arranged by the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America with the co-operation of interdenominational agencies on the field. As a result of the visits, campaigns have been started in many Latin American countries, in practically every case under the auspices of an interdenominational committee. In some countries, it was the urgency to carry on this work which brought the different groups together.

In the field of literature, great progress has been made during the war and since. A conference called by the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America in Mexico in 1941, attended

by delegates from many Latin American countries, gave a great impetus to the whole program of production and distribution of literature in the Spanish-speaking world. Strong regional committees have been set up in different areas and a great volume of books and pamphlets has poured off the presses of *La Aurora*, publishing house in Buenos Aires, and the *Casa Unida de Publicaciones* in Mexico. Other production centers are at Lima, Santiago, and Guatemala. From 1942 to 1946, nearly three hundred books had been approved for publication. Besides this, a wide range of pamphlets, on the Christian home, Evangelism, religious education, and rural life, has been published. This program of Christian literature is of tremendous significance as more people learn to read and as many seek liberation from the intellectual serfdom imposed by the Roman Catholic Church. A conference on literature, similar to the one held in Mexico in 1941, will be held in Brazil for the Portuguese-speaking world early in 1947.

Plans are being developed for an increase in Evangelical broadcasting in Latin America on an interdenominational basis as a result of a survey of the field made in 1945.

The threat to religious liberty has given great concern to Protestants in many Latin American countries. The survey which the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America carried out in preparation for Dr. M. Searle Bates' book on religious liberty revealed that while religious liberty was conceded in theory—that is, in the constitutions—in practice it was often violated. Governments were under constant pressure by the Roman Catholic hierarchy to restrict the activities of Protestants by new legislation, generally in the form of decrees. Clericalism is the chief menace to religious freedom in Latin America today. This often means Catholic support of some kind for a government whose position is uncertain or for some political group which needs support in an election, in exchange for

legislative measures restricting Protestant activity or favoring Roman Catholicism. The outstanding example is the way the Perón group in Argentina made obligatory the teaching of Roman Catholicism in all schools in an effort to gain support of the Church in the next elections. An attempt is now being made to make this obligatory Catholic teaching a permanent feature and entirely to "Catholicize" the educational program from the primary grades to the university.

In such a situation, it is difficult to say whether or not religious liberty is assured in Latin America. While politicians are willing to buy support and the Roman Catholic Church is not only politically minded but always seeking to strengthen its own position by using its influence, there will be a constant threat to religious freedom as well as to other forms of freedom.

A missionary in Colombia, in a recent letter to the writer, says that "in spite of guarantees set up in the national constitution, religious liberty is greatly restricted and even precarious at present. The recent defeat of liberal candidates in the presidential election of Colombia and the election of a conservative executive, threatens further restriction in the near future, as Roman Catholic intolerance and clericalism devise new forms of hostility to Evangelicals. The latter are not yet sufficiently numerous to wield effective restraining influence in politics or on public opinion."

In Mexico, there is open and constant persecution of Protestants. Protestant pastors and members of churches have been attacked and, in a number of cases, killed by fanatical groups sometimes led or incited by Catholic priests. Churches have been damaged and homes destroyed. When two Mexican government agents were sent in July, 1946 to investigate such incidents in a certain place, the priest had the church bell rung in order to gather the people together and incite them

against the agents. One was killed and the other seriously wounded as a result.

There remains one important question as we view the Protestant movement in Latin America in the post-war period, and that is, how far has the idea of the Ecumenical Church permeated the membership of our Churches? How conscious are the Churches of their partnership in the great Ecumenical Movement of today?

First of all, let us consider the environment in which the Churches live. Conditions in Latin America are entirely different from those in the United States, where there is a more or less highly organized society, with great cities and dense urban populations, brought closely together by communication systems penetrating every part of the country. The members of the Protestant Churches in the United States are conscious not only of membership in great denominations but also of some relationship at least (though not as much as is desired) to important interdenominational organizations.

In Latin America, many congregations have little or no relationship to the Protestant groups even within their own denomination. Communications are slow and difficult except, of course, along the main airlines, but those are beyond the reach economically of the majority of the members of our Churches. Roads are penetrating more and more into the interior of the countries, but many groups are still living in virtual isolation from the Church movement even on a national scale. The majority of the members of our Protestant Churches have never been conscious of the existence of an Ecumenical Church.

In the second place, the Churches are confronted with such tremendous challenges to evangelize the unreached areas within each country that these engage practically all their energy and resources. The Protestant Church is still a minority, numerically,

sometimes a very small one, and it is overwhelmed with the task of reaching the surrounding masses with the Gospel.

Another factor in the situation is the large influx in recent years of independent missions, which observe no comity and are opposed to the Ecumenical Movement and all Protestant organizations on a world basis. In their Church papers or magazines, they warn their people against the supposed evils of interdenominational co-operation, and the dangers of the Ecumenical Movement.

In general, it may be said that the idea of an Ecumenical Movement has not been accepted by more than a few of the leaders who may have had the opportunity of traveling in other countries and of being in touch with the interdenominational movement in its broader aspects. Such leaders are conscious of a bond of union with fellow Christians in other lands, but the majority of the members of the Churches have never had such contacts. On the other hand, the writer has found, over and over again, an eagerness on the part of Evangelical congregations to know something about Christians of other countries. And again, in countries where there is a strong, active co-operative organization, such as the Federation of Churches in the River Plata, there is a growing consciousness of this partnership in the Ecumenical Movement, though it is slow in penetrating into the local churches. The youth in our Churches show most interest in this aspect of the Christian movement. A beginning was made in the sending of representatives from Latin American countries to participate in the 1937 Conferences of Life and Work and Faith and Order, the Madras Conference of 1938, the Amsterdam Youth Conference of 1939, and the World's Sunday School Association Conference of 1941. And in Brazil, a Portuguese edition of Paul G. Macy's booklet, *The Story of the World Council of Churches*, has been published and fairly widely circulated.

There is great need for acquainting the membership of our Protestant Churches with the implications for the Christian Church of the atomic age into which we have been thrust. Leadership for this must come largely from the United States. The supreme need of the Christian Church is to be a fellowship, a community of men and women devoted to the things of the spirit, a force for righteousness in a world of confusion and darkness.

The principle of individual freedom and the right of private interpretation emphasized by the sixteenth-century reformers tended toward the atomization of the Protestant Church. That fissiparous tendency still continues. It now is of supreme importance for Protestants in Latin America to realize that the oneness of the Church of Christ, above and beyond race, color, and doctrinal belief and denominational distinctiveness, is inherent in that same Gospel which places such value on individual freedom. The great task of uniting the Protestant Church of Christ in Latin America is just beginning. The years immediately ahead will be crucial and important, since the world is so rapidly becoming one physically without yet possessing a spirit of unity and community. The Evangelical Church in Latin America must play its part in laying the foundations of world order.

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VI AFRICA

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I

CENTRAL AFRICA

Herrick Young

ALTHOUGH there was really less actual fighting in Central Africa than in World War I, when the German colonies were battlefields, if Ethiopia is to be included in the area one immediately recognizes the long duration of the war in the black-belt south of the Sahara and north of South Africa. In any case, these 1,000,000 black Africans were shocked out of centuries of primitive jungle living as a result of their being almost entirely within the bounds of some European empire.

As Britain, France, and Belgium—in the early days of Nazi success—were desperate for man-power to halt the onrushing juggernaut, African colonial troops were recruited with haste and high pressure. Lorry loads of African hunters were transported to North Africa and thrown into the struggle. There these African troops made the startling discovery that man for man they could outmarch and outshoot their European comrades. Years went by and, with the end of the war, they returned to their tribes with a new sense of their own importance and a new realization that as human beings they had rights in what they hoped was to be a "free world."

The editor of *The Daily Service* in Lagos, Nigeria, phrased this new feeling as follows:

In the midst of our joy and triumph, let us remember, perhaps as men with infinite faith in absolute values, that God must have had a purpose in giving Hitler that ephemeral success which disconcerted us so much

in 1940 and 1941. The fate of the deflated ex-duce savagely executed by his own men at Como, of benighted Adolph Hitler who committed suicide, of Goebbels, the greatest liar that has ever lived, who swallowed poison, and of several lesser lights in totalitarian circles, is sufficient lesson to erring humanity lest they forget that justice and equity alone have permanent values. Men who believe they are born as masters to hold eternal sway over others and so rule by force of arms should learn from the fate of the benighted Nazi Germany.

During these war-years, cities have emerged in Central Africa, as a mark of the progress from tribal life in the jungle toward modern industrialized society. One such is Leopoldville, Belgium Congo. There the conference of Christian workers, in July, 1946, in its message from delegates of the Churches in West Central Africa (Belgian Congo, Cameroun, French Equatorial Africa, and Angola) together with the representatives of more than forty Protestant Evangelical Missions (Belgium, Portuguese, French, Swiss, Scandinavian, British, Canadian, and American) expressed the feeling of the Christians of the area as follows:

Although no part of the world has been immune from the effects of six years of total war, we speak for a part of Africa which has suffered little of war's material destruction or physical suffering. In things material, there has been more prosperity than loss. In the membership and support of the churches, there has been progress rather than decline. The special persecution which the Church has experienced in so many parts of the world has passed us by. Although most of the Missions are understaffed and overworked, their work has continued. All this constitutes a privilege which we accept with a profound sense of responsibility. We desire to express this in more faithful and zealous service of our Lord and Saviour whose majesty and mercy have been made manifest to us in these days.

Our days of conference have been richly blessed. Amidst many differences of language and of nationality and cultural tradition, we have been aware of an overmastering sense of unity in faith and purpose. This has been far more in evidence than any diversities in our denominational loyalties. We believe it has embraced a wider range of

differences than has been represented in any previous single gathering in the modern history of this continent. This gift of unity in faith and experience points to something which is of life and death importance for Africa today. For long the most powerful influences in Africa were divisive—diversity of language, animistic belief and practice, the colonial expansion of the European powers. While many disintegrating forces are still at work, the new and most powerful feature of African life is its unity in aspiration—aspiration toward a more abundant life. We believe that this aspiration is an essential consequence of the preaching of the Gospel in Africa. It has its meaning and fulfilment in the Christian understanding of the nature of man and society and of God's redemptive purpose for both. But unless it is directed and satisfied within the power and discipline of Christianity, it will finally prove disruptive for Africa and for the world.

We are deeply stirred by the opportunity which now confronts the Church in this rapidly awakening continent and in the particular territories which we represent. In most of these territories, the opportunity is heightened by the new attitude of the Colonial governments. The courtesy and assistance which we have received during our days of conference from distinguished representatives of State has been of more than passing significance. It is clear that the general policies of these governments now provide more open doors for the work of Protestant missions than has ever been the case before. There are indications that behind this attitude there is the recognition of the limitation of the power of the State to touch the deepest issues at the heart of the present situation. As the Governor General of the Belgian Congo said at the opening of the conference, "*Nous les laïques, nous avons ici une belle et noble mission, mais la votre missionnaires, est plus belle et plus noble encore, parce que vous avez tout quitté pour venir, sans rien demander en échange, apporter aux populations du Congo Belge les lumières de l'Évangile, pour leur enseigner par votre exemple et par vos leçons la Charité Divine.*" (We lay people, we have here a blessed and noble mission, but that of your missionaries is still more blessed and noble because you have left all to come, demanding naught in exchange, to bring to the people of Belgian Congo the light of the Gospel—to enlighten them by your example and by your lessons in divine love.)

In face of this total situation, we dare to summon the Churches in West Central Africa and the missions associated with them to fresh and larger commitments on behalf of Christ in this land. Our summons is

issued with urgency in high confidence and hope. Yet it begins with deep humility before God. While we have seen so many signs of His presence, these have illumined our own failures, both individual and corporate. In Church and mission we have allowed the lesser loyalties of denominational tradition, local and personal self-interest to obscure the larger vision, and there have been times when a sense of racial superiority has marred even our Christian fellowship. Despite the noble story of the Christian enterprise in these territories, the African Church is slow in coming to maturity, and a sufficient leadership has neither been forthcoming nor adequately trained for its task. These and other grave weaknesses grow out of spiritual disloyalty or blindness which we can only confess with penitence.

Yet placing our trust in that goodness of God which leadeth to repentance, we issue the following call to the Churches and missions which we represent and we accept its implications for ourselves.

1. We call one another by God's grace to make more than ever clear to men the supreme distinctive mission of the Church to proclaim God's saving purpose in Christ and to demonstrate this purpose in spirit and in power. "I am come that they might have life and . . . have it more abundantly."

2. While jealously guarding the distinctiveness of the spiritual mission of the Church, we are convinced that Churches and missions must read more carefully the signs of the times in this swiftly changing Africa and become more alert to the Christian significance of all that is taking place in the political, industrial, and social life of these territories. With this alertness there must be greater readiness to adapt mission policies to rapidly changing situations. (Some illustrations of this will appear in the conference findings to be published later.)

3. We plead for the strongest possible reinforcement of the missionary forces in these territories. Many essential developments, as well as the adequate functioning of existing instruments of service, await new recruits for this greatest of all work. We further stress the need for rendering this service in ways which will promote the development of African responsibility and aid the Churches to reach maturity in Christ.

4. The life of the Churches in this region has already been greatly enriched by close co-operation between the denominations. We count on a deepening of this process on the field and at the home base through the many opportunities for united testimony and action which the ecumenical movement affords. We plead for the constant nurture in every Church of the ecumenical spirit.

5. Insofar as our conference has been to us a means toward new insights and fresh power to obey, we humbly acknowledge that this has been the outcome of God's presence amidst a receptive and worshipping people. We are conscious of the fact that wisdom to deal with the situation in which God has placed us today and grace to fulfil the tasks which now confront the Church can only come from the same source and through the same Spirit. We dare, therefore, to summon all who are associated with us in the service of Christ and Africa to renewed devotion to the means of grace, to daily waiting upon the creative Spirit of God and constant readiness to hear that Word of God which alone can guard us from a merely nominal Christianity and make our discipleship—like the compassion of God—"new every morning."

The fact that this conference was held is one of the most convincing evidences of a new unity in Central Africa. For ten days the delegates considered: The Christian in Africa; The Church of Christ in Africa; The Challenge of Changing Conditions; Christian Responsibilities in Health; Education and Literature.

Typical of the recognition that these post-war days call for a restudy of the Christian program was the one day's program at the Leopoldville Conference devoted to the Unity of the Church of Christ in Africa:

- a. Its unity in God's plan and purpose
- b. To what extent can "denominational" traditions enrich the whole life of the Church in Africa without perpetuating harmful divisions?
- c. To what steps are we called now to achieve unity in the Church?
- d. The relation of the mission to the Church
- e. The attitude of missions, missionaries, and the Church to separatist movements.

As literacy has increased in Central Africa, there has been an increasing demand for Christian literature and the Scriptures in the various African and European languages. During the

war, the publishing of the mission presses was seriously hampered by lack of paper, ink, and mechanical parts. Expansion is now planned in the French Cameroun by the Halsey Memorial Press, in Accra by the English Methodists, and Scotch Presbyterians, in Leopoldville by the Congo Protestant Council, and in other centers.

The increasing activity of the Christian Churches in Central Africa is a heartening demonstration that the early missionaries sowed the seed well. The atomic age has brought a new awareness of human inadequacy and a deepening sense of the presence of God in the confusion of modern society. Let us pray that Central Africa will move into the new day as a Christian block.

According to the International Christian Press and Information Service issued in Geneva by the World Council of Churches, the Anglican weekly *The Guardian* (London, August 23, 1946) reports:

At a time when Islamic culture is spreading along the Nile southward, the Christian faith spreads from the strong Christian Churches of Central Africa northward. The two have already met, and the contest for the Southern Sudan has begun. We must certainly aim at a united front.

On the one hand, we have the Eastern Churches for the coordination of work between the Protestant missions. There is also a Council which meets in Khartoum, on which all the Eastern Churches and Free Church missions are represented. Every year there is a big "Unity" service, when all the above meet together in Khartoum Cathedral for a united act of worship. A similar service is held on a smaller scale at certain townships in the provinces. Of the bishop's two nominees for the Cathedral chapter, it is intended by the bishop that one shall be a representative of the Eastern Churches and the other of the Free Churches.

There is also a much closer understanding with the Roman Catholic Church. In the Southern Sudan, where the missionary bodies are most active, there is a gentlemen's agreement between the bishops of the respective Churches. Any cases of misunderstanding which arise are to be referred to the bishops for settlement.

One result of the above happy co-operation between Christian Churches in this land is the establishment of a united Church at Malakal. A church was

built, and is being used regularly by congregations of the Eastern Churches, and of the Free Churches, with the Church of England as a kind of pivot. The sacraments are administered strictly by the visiting priests of the various denominations, with no intercommunion, except as provided by the rules and regulations of the respective Churches. For other services, British, Greek, Copts, Africans, meet together for united worship. It has been found that the Church of England liturgy most nearly meets the needs of all concerned. . . .
(I.C.P.I.S. Geneva)

EGYPT AND ETHIOPIA

Charles R. Watson

THIS CHAPTER relates to developments in the life of the Christian Churches of Egypt and Ethiopia during the war period. While the intention of the survey is to trace the effect of the war upon the trends, especially upon those toward unification and co-operation in the several areas, it cannot be said that the war itself had much to do with the developments that are to be stated presently. The war may have accelerated certain influences, but these trends were part of the situation quite apart from the war and will doubtless continue to be vital factors in human development long after the immediate effects of the war have ceased.

In Egypt, the chief Christian Church is the Coptic Church dating back to the days when it was the National Church of Egypt. Indeed, today, its membership is designated as the People or Nation, referring to this historic fact. It numbers one-twelfth (sometimes believed to be one-fifteenth) part of the population of Egypt. It has always asserted itself as a political factor in the life of the nation and is so recognized in the make-up of party and political representation. Next to the Coptic Church, as semiindigenous, are various Churches whose roots are in the ancient political situation in which, on the one hand, Constantinople ruled Egypt and its representatives sought to impose on Egypt their forms and organization of the early Christian Church, and, on the other hand, various heresies of

the early Church lived on. Next to these early forms of Christianity are the many variant Churches which have come in largely with their respective foreign communities to minister to spiritual life, such as the Greek and Armenian Churches. Following these are the missionary Churches such as the Evangelical (American United Presbyterian origin) Church and the Egyptian Episcopal Church (Anglican origin).

Generally speaking, it may be said that the Churches of the Near East have been little affected by the war except as their memberships have shared in certain general influences which affected the whole Nation. For example, the period of the war resulted in a very marked increase in the cost of living, and the Christians of the country were the victims of this trend. With it came the trend of wages to increase and of good positions to develop with the incoming foreign armies. Here, too, the Christian Churches found readier entrance into such service because they were Christians and were more fitted to seize such opportunities. Doubtless in all the Christian Churches, the war brought an increasing awareness of the great world-life that surged about Egypt, but the effect of this awareness, insofar as it came from the war, had very little influence upon Church life. From a totally different quarter came a movement that makes for Church co-operation and unity.

The life of all Christian Churches in Egypt must be pictured always as conscious of one great threatening influence. It is that of the political activities and influence of the anti-Christian Moslem State in the midst of which they must live. Anyone who has lived in a Moslem country will realize what this means: the endless disabilities of the Christian before the government. It is almost impossible to get permission to erect a new church building. There is exclusion from many government positions, difficulties in securing passports, the denial of all rights of conversion, and legislation adverse to Christian

schools. To be sure, there are liberal Moslems, including the king, who rise above these historic and pervasive attitudes of Islam, but the Christian Church in all its forms has been so obsessed with fear that it has had little motivation other than to live and preserve its existing liberties.

In 1944, there developed a very significant Christian inter-Church movement. It had its origin not in any influence emanating from the war, but in the upsurge of Egyptian Nationalism, which, no matter how much it may claim to be impartially secular, always takes on a pro-Moslem character. Each chief religious group in Egypt has a separate official *meqils* or Church court to which are referred cases that come under the *Statut personnel* classification—marriage, divorce, inheritance, and guardianship of children. The different non-Moslem sects naturally observe different rules and procedures, and for some years it had been recognized that they needed to be unified, especially as abuses were increasing where different religious faiths were involved in the same case. Seizing on this valid argument for unification and ignoring the fact that it was by defection to the Islamic faith that the bulk of the irregularities were occurring, the government began to initiate laws and terms on which unification of the Christian courts was to be affected. The plan was objectionable to all Christian groups, chiefly because it threw all disputed cases (arising out of hostility) to Moslem judges for final settlement. This common basis of hostility to Islamic influence led to, first, an informal and, later, to a semiofficial parley of the Christian forces and the submission by them, in common Christian agreement, of a plan of unification which would eliminate Christian abuses and yet protect the Christian court decisions from becoming subject to Islamic judges. The movement had its preparatory steps in an interesting group of Christians who had met for two years previously to discuss issues raised by the

war. Its concrete development is largely to be credited to the initiative of Mr. S. A. Morrison of the C.M.S. who labored most actively in bringing together the various Christian groups for co-operative action on this particular issue.

It is to be noted that this movement of co-operation, at present called The Committee, has no ideals of organic union among its objectives, but is purely a federated effort for one specific and concrete purpose. It includes Coptic Orthodox, Uniates, Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Armenian Gregorians, and Evangelicals, and is the first clear proof that these separate bodies can forsake their exclusiveness and unite in tasks of common interest. We do not know what this feeble and yet very significant movement may lead to. Already it has appointed a special Educational Commission to study another problem, the problem of freedom of action in Christian schools in Egypt, as the Government is pressing the population to attend Government elementary (*ilzamiya*) schools in which Islam is officially taught to Christian and Moslem pupils alike.

In Ethiopia, nationalism and the war may be said to have accentuated independence rather than fostered any movement toward co-operation. On the one hand, the occupation of Ethiopia by the Italians led to the weakening of the ties between the Ethiopian Church and the Coptic Church in Egypt and diversion of those relationships to Rome. Politically, Italy wanted the Ethiopian Church to follow the victorious chariot of Italy; and Rome saw an opportunity for attaching another primitive group to itself in religious allegiance. Thus a Metropolitan supported by Rome was imposed on the Ethiopian Church. On the other hand, the war, ending with the debacle of Italy, left the country and its people more open than ever to the spirit of independence, and a nationalistic movement developed which asked for the complete deliverance of the

Ethiopian Church from the slender historic ties that bound it to Egypt. This movement found expression in several formal requests made by the Ethiopian Church. It must be said that the Council of the Coptic Church in Egypt dealt extremely generously with these requests, granting most of them. Among those granted were the following: that the Ethiopian Church be allowed to have an Ethiopian Metropolitan (instead of an Egyptian) upon the retirement of the present Metropolitan; that the number of Ethiopian bishops be increased from five to seven in the Sacred Council of the Coptic Church; that certain representatives of the Ethiopian Church be allowed to take part in the election of the Coptic Patriarch; that the Ethiopian representatives be allowed to attend and be members of the sessions of the Council in Cairo; that the two Churches exchange delegations of monks; that a clerical school be opened in Addis Ababa; that a Provincial Sacred Council to deal with local problems be allowed in Ethiopia; and that the ban of excommunication be lifted from those improperly ordained during the war on condition that they return to their former ecclesiastical status. The following request was disallowed; that the Ethiopian Metropolitan be given authority to ordain bishops. It will thus be seen that out of nine requests, eight were granted. However on some other points there is a deadlock between the Ethiopian Church and the Coptic Church in Egypt.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that in the Oriental Churches of the Nile Valley, while there is some progress in the idea of Christian co-operation, this progress really owes very little to war influences. It can also be seen that several other problems of the Christian Church loom much more largely in the life of the Church than that of Church co-operation or unity. One such problem is that of the relation of Church to State, where the Church is Christian and the State is Moslem.

In the Orient generally, the Christian Church has never dissociated itself from the conception of a unified Church and State. Many functions which in the West have been gladly surrendered to the State, such as marriage, divorce, inheritance, and guardianship of children are fought for almost fanatically by the several Churches and it seems unavoidably so, as they live under a government (Moslem) which contravenes in its governmental regulations the Christian ideals, e.g., maintains polygamy in marriage, the inferiority of women in both divorce and inheritance, and generally the superiority of Moslem ideals over all Christian regulations. Nationalism is affecting Church life also and is reducing religious freedom; for it tends to assert that in each country there should be but one national Christian Church and that variant forms of Christianity should be excluded, if need be by governmental authority. For example, the Ethiopian Church has recently secured from the Ethiopian Government a prohibition against Western missions' working among the members of the Ethiopian Christian Church, though many of these are to all appearances purely pagan in knowledge, life, and practice. Another vital problem is the maintenance of the life of these Oriental Christian Churches in respect to the teachings and atmosphere for a unified national public educational system, which is justifiable in principle, but is unfailingly Moslem in its content and atmosphere. The Christian Churches naturally fight for their own parochial school systems which seem to be vital to their very existence and self-perpetuation from generation to generation.

VII

ECUMENICAL CHRISTIANITY

I

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

By Samuel McCrea Cavert

FOR NEARLY a decade, the World Council of Churches has existed in a preliminary form with only a provisional structure. After the ecumenical conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh in 1937, and especially after the drafting of the constitution for a World Council at Utrecht in 1938, it was optimistically assumed that the Council would soon be established under the terms of its official charter. But in the year after the Utrecht meeting, the World War came. The hopes for the first Assembly of the Council receded to a distant horizon. The Council was left like a new-born infant, gasping for breath; some of its friends and relatives were uncertain whether it could survive.

In the survival of the Council during its infancy, despite the desperately unfavorable environment, the eye of faith must see something more than human contriving. Throughout the devastating years of war, when international institutions of a merely secular character—political, economic, cultural—were breaking into pieces, the World Council of Churches not only maintained its existence but experienced a remarkable growth.

Instead of disintegrating as a result of the world conflict, the Council steadily became a more vital reality. Additional Churches voted to become members until the number has reached one hundred three in over thirty different countries. The hopes of leaders in the Churches became more and more centered in what the council might be and do after the war was

over. Its program of service expanded to meet emergency needs created by the war, such as the work for refugees, the religious ministry to prisoners of war, and the distribution of the Scriptures among groups shut off from their normal source of supply. Contacts were maintained among the Churches of the world, even between the Churches of nations that were sundered by deadly combat. The story of anti-Nazi resistance by Christians in one country was made known to Christians of other countries in a way that provided mutual encouragement and support. Even in the midst of the worst wartime destruction, post-war plans for Christian reconstruction on an ecumenical basis were conceived and initiated.

The expansion of the World Council's program received visible expression in its new physical habitat. The small rented office in Geneva, Switzerland, had become completely outgrown before the end of the war. Today the Council occupies commodious and attractive headquarters of its own on Route de Malagnou, with three well-appointed buildings housing nearly a hundred workers. The establishment of a training center for ecumenical leadership, made possible through a recent munificent gift of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has led to the securing of another property, the beautiful Chateau de Bossy, near Geneva.

These and other activities increased so rapidly that there was danger of their outrunning the development of the Council itself as an ecumenical reality. For a time, one could not help wondering whether its many services might prove to be a top-heavy structure for which there was not a sufficiently solid foundation in an actual unity of life in the Churches themselves and in their relation to each other in the Council. Or, to change the figure of speech, there was reason for concern as to whether the central trunk of the ecumenical tree was sturdy enough to

support its many wide-spreading branches. Today there is good reason to believe that the fear is groundless.

In the strategy of strengthening the essential basis of the World Council in its relation to the Churches that are its natural constituency, three areas are receiving major consideration at the present time. These have to do with the Churches of Germany, the Eastern Orthodox bodies, and the Younger Churches.

The relation of the German Church to the World Council in the period immediately following the war was manifestly a matter of prime importance. A Council that could not find the way of drawing together the Churches of Allied and of Axis countries would thereby have confessed itself cramped in the range of ecumenical fellowship and too feeble to count greatly in the process of reconciliation and rebuilding in Europe. Happily, the Council has measured up to the challenge.

The effects of the National Socialist policies, both upon the internal life of the Church in Germany and upon its relations with other Churches, were so disruptive that at the close of the war it was impossible to predict what would be its attitude toward the World Council. But the issue was not long in doubt. The problem was solved, at least in principle, within the first few weeks after the war. When the new Council of "The Evangelical Church in Germany," organized at Treysa in August 1945, held its first session in Stuttgart, October 18-20, 1945, it welcomed a delegation sent by the World Council. The delegation expressed its high appreciation for what the struggle of the Confessional Church in Germany had meant to the Ecumenical Movement during the war, and at the same time raised the question whether the post-war attitude of the German Church made possible a full understanding and co-operation between it and the Churches of other lands. This prompted the German Church Council to issue an official statement

recognizing both the moral responsibility of the German people for the evil deeds of the National Socialist regime and the failure of the Church generally to manifest a more vigorous opposition.

"With great pain (these spokesmen for the German Church declared) do we say that through us has endless suffering been brought to many peoples and countries. Though we have struggled for many years in the name of Jesus Christ against a spirit which had found its terrible expression in the National Socialist régime of violence, yet we accuse ourselves for not witnessing more courageously, for not praying more faithfully, for not believing more joyously, for not loving more ardently."

The statement then went on to affirm the purpose of the German Church to cleanse itself of "influences alien to the faith" and its desire for membership in the World Council.

When we bear in mind that after the First World War the question of "war guilt" bedeviled ecumenical relations for a decade, we may take it as an occasion for gratitude that our brethren in the German Church at such an early date went so far in removing what might have been a thorny obstacle to ecumenical co-operation for several years. Although the declaration has by no means been accepted in all German quarters, it was so profoundly Christian in quality and tone as to have a real influence in Germany and to be an inspiration to Christians in other lands. By other Churches, it was not accepted in any mood of self-righteousness. There was an answering spirit of penitence and humility on their part for their own short-comings and "sins of omission."

In general, it may be said that there is already an effective groundwork of understanding between the Christians of Germany and of the Allied countries. There are, of course, possibilities of serious tension. Indeed, they have already

emerged. They have to do chiefly with the policies pursued by the Military Occupation of the Allies as these policies impinge upon the concern of the German Churches for their own people. But the spirit of ecumenical fellowship that has been established through the leadership of the World Council promises to be strong enough to withstand the strains.

There is a puzzling question of a technical sort having to do with the character of the new organization which bears the name of "Evangelical Church in Germany." As set up at the Treysa Conference it represents a drawing-together of the "Confessional Church" the so-called "intact" *Landeskirchen* (like those of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hanover) and "united Churches" of the Prussian Union pattern. But is the new body to be thought of as a Church or as a federation of Churches—Lutheran, Reformed, and Union? Clearly it is not a Church in the sense of having a single confessional standard and a single Church order. On the other hand, it goes beyond the ordinary type of federation, in that it has been given authority to act in an official capacity in relation to the Churches outside of Germany. As successor in this respect to the former German Church Federation, which had been a participant in the Life and Work movement prior to the Oxford Conference, it has asked for and received a provisional membership in the World Council, subject to whatever arrangements may be made when the permanent structure of the German Church has been established.

The relation of the Eastern Orthodox bodies to the World Council is a matter of crucial moment, affecting not only the practical operation of the Council in large areas of Europe and the Near East, but even the very nature and meaning of the World Council itself. For it is through the participation of Orthodoxy that the Council most clearly becomes a more-than-Protestant movement and carries the full Catholic heritage also.

Without a substantial participation of Orthodoxy, the World Council could hardly expect to be regarded as truly ecumenical.

One is therefore sorry to be required to say that the connection of Eastern Orthodoxy with the World Council is still rather tenuous. Several of its leaders are deeply interested, maintain warm personal contacts with the Council's work, are members of the Provisional Committee, and offer substantial hopes for future developments. But none of the larger Churches of the Orthodox tradition has yet made an official decision to join. There are three or four member-Churches from the Orthodox family but they are relatively small and uninfluential groups.¹

The explanation for this situation is to be found, in considerable part, in the abnormal—in some cases, revolutionary—political and economic conditions in the midst of which the larger Orthodox Churches are now set. This is certainly true in Russia, and also, to varying degrees, in countries like Greece and Yugoslavia and Romania.

Doubtless the decisive factor in the future relations of Orthodox Christianity to the World Council is the Church of Russia. Until recently, the Ecumenical Movement hardly took it into account; it was in such a harassed and defensive position that it was no longer a dominant factor in the Orthodox world. Today, the situation is very different. The Russian Church has emerged into a much stronger position in relation to the Russian people and the Russian State. In view both of its own new situation within Russia and the immense influence of Russia on the European Continent, it seems likely that the Russian Church will be the focal point in the leadership of Eastern Orthodoxy.

What will be the bearing of this upon the relation of Eastern Orthodoxy to the Ecumenical Movement? That is an enigma

¹ Since this paragraph was written, most of the Orthodox Churches of the Mediterranean area have indicated their intention of joining the World Council. Editor.

which it is not yet possible to solve. Indeed, one can hardly discover any clue that might help in the solution. The veil of secrecy still hangs too heavily over Russia to justify one in essaying the role of prophet about the future attitudes of the Russian Church toward other Churches. It has to be said that such contacts as there have thus far been between representatives of the Russian Church and the other Churches of Europe and America have been hardly more than polite gestures. There has been no give-and-take of discussion about the basic assumptions and policies of the respective Churches. We still are in the dark about the Russian Church with respect to matters of immense consequence for the Ecumenical Movement.

Suppose, for example, the Church of Russia were a member of the World Council of Churches today: Would its representatives in the Council really represent a Church or a State? Would they be prepared to discuss, in an atmosphere of freedom, what Christianity means for economic policies, for international relations, for the rights of minorities, ecclesiastical or political, for freedom in the utterances of personal conviction? In a word, would the Russian Church, in its relation to Christians of other lands, be allowed to function as a Church, with an independent life of its own rooted in its relation to Christ, or would it be required to be an instrument of political power? We simply do not know. Until there is more evidence than is available today, the relation of the Russian Church to the World Council is a question that must wait for further light. It is hoped that a conference on the subject with representatives of the Russian Church can be arranged soon. Preliminary correspondence concerning such a conference has been initiated by the World Council, but the outcome is still uncertain.

A Council that is to merit description as ecumenical must obviously not be limited to the Churches of the western half of the world. Yet there are serious difficulties of a practical

kind in the process of bringing the Churches of Asia and Africa and the Pacific Isles (as well as the Evangelical bodies in Latin America) into full participation in the World Council's life. Most of these Churches are still young, as compared with the much longer development of Christianity in the West, and many of them have not the resources, either in personnel or money, to enable them to take a part in the Council's program commensurate with their importance in the ecumenical family. The conferences associated with the Council have all been held in the West and, although the Younger Churches have not been without their representatives, their direct contacts with its ongoing work and planning have been relatively slight.

These Younger Churches have, however, had an organic connection with the International Missionary Council for twenty-five years. The relations between the World Council and the International Missionary Council are for this reason (and for other reasons also) of great significance. Fortunately, these relations are of the very best and are not marred by the institutional jealousy and concern for position that often accompany organizational developments. Convincing evidence of this is found in the fact that the first post-war meetings of the World Council's Provisional Committee and of the International Missionary Council's *Ad Interim* Committee in February, 1946, in Geneva, were arranged as parts of a concerted plan. Moreover, a reciprocal relationship has been established in accordance with which the two organizations are to be regularly represented in each other's meetings.

Still more important, the leaders of both movements are in warm personal fellowship and desire to reinforce each other. The International Missionary Council, by reason of its worldwide interests, is eager to see the greatest possible strengthening of the ecumenical spirit; and the World Council is keenly

aware that the growth of an ecumenical Church must depend on the missionary spirit.

The problem, however, of creating the kind of organizational structure which will embody and further these attitudes of good will and mutual helpfulness still remains. It will not do to let the Ecumenical Movement be permanently divided into two organizations structurally independent of each other—one having its special interest in Europe and America, the other focusing attention on Asia and Africa. The result would be only hemispherical, not global. If there were to continue to be two bodies, each presuming to be a “world” or an “international” council of the Churches, although one dealt with the western half of the world and the other with the eastern half, the Church would not have a strategy based on the inescapable fact of “one world.”

The leaders of the World Council and of the International Missionary Council are therefore giving sustained thought and study to formulating a plan for uniting their forces, or at least to effecting some full coordination of their work. The great values which inhere in the history and contacts of the International Missionary Council must be conserved but this must be done in a way which does not require the Younger Churches either to relate themselves to two separate organizations of world-wide scope or to choose between them as objects of their ecumenical loyalty.

The most gratifying evidence of the drawing together of the World Council and the International Missionary Council is the creation of their joint “Commission of the Churches on International Affairs.” This is the outcome of a conference held at Cambridge, England, in August, 1946, under the Chairmanship of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the leading figure in the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, which has for five years rendered remarkable service to the Federal Council

of the Churches of Christ in America. The functions of the new international commission, as defined at Cambridge, are

To encourage the formation, in each country and in each Church represented in the parent bodies, of commissions through which the consciences of Christians may be stirred and educated as to their responsibilities in the World of Nations.

To gather and appraise materials on the relations of the Churches to public affairs, and to make the best of this material available to its constituent Churches.

To study selected problems of international justice and world order.

To assign specific responsibilities and studies to sub-committees on special groups, and to claim for them the assistance of persons especially expert in the problems under consideration.

To organize study conferences of leaders of different Churches and nations.

To call the attention of the Church to problems especially clamant upon the Christian conscience at any particular time.

To discover and declare Christian principles with direct relevance to the relations of nations, and to formulate the bearing of these principles upon immediate issues.

To represent the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council in relations with

international bodies such as the United Nations and related agencies.

To concert from time to time with other organizations holding similar objectives in the advancement of particular ends.

Discussions have also begun as to whether it is feasible for the World Council and the International Missionary Council to establish a joint office somewhere in the East. Neither of the organizations now has an office in the East, yet each needs one. The International Missionary Council urgently needs it because so much of its primary concern is centered there. The World Council needs it in order to bring the point of view and experience of the Younger Churches more directly into the orbit of its life. From its standpoint, a base of operations in some city like Bombay or Shanghai or Manila is every whit as important as its offices in London or New York. A joint office in the East, representing the interests of both organizations, would serve each in valuable ways and also help to bring the Younger Churches into a more dynamic relationship with the Ecumenical Movement as a whole.

While these basic problems of ecclesiastical relationship are being solved, the actual program of the World Council moves forward with amazing vigor. Its work is so many-sided and far-reaching that it is difficult to realize that it is still "in the process of formation." The program of assistance to the Churches that have suffered most from the war is well under way and is the most impressive manifestation of the ecumenical spirit that has yet been seen. It is doing more than anything else in Europe to make the World Council appear as an actual force in the life of the Churches today and not merely an ideal for tomorrow.

The Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid has already become an extraordinary center of service and its success in approaching its stupendous task on an ecumenical basis has justified the high expectations that were entertained for it. Gathered around the director, Dr. J. Hutchison Cockburn, former moderator of the Church of Scotland, is a staff representing diverse backgrounds who have achieved a genuine family spirit. In this connection, the American Churches have made a major contribution through the action of the Lutheran, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, Evangelical and Reformed, Disciples, and Episcopal bodies in assigning representatives to co-operate with and through the World Council's Reconstruction Department.

The collaboration of the Lutherans calls for a special word of recognition. If they have sometimes been thought of in the past as more hesitant than other Churches in co-operative relationships, no one could have such an impression with reference to the reconstruction program today. They have been second to none in their readiness to make their efforts part of an ecumenical plan. The Lutheran World Convention has established an office at the headquarters of the World Council, and its executive secretary, Dr. S. C. Michelfelder, is one of the most effective collaborators there. When it became clear in 1945 that the Council must undertake physical relief—including food, medicine, bandages, vitamins, shoes, clothing, and blankets—in addition to its assistance in restoring and strengthening the Church life in Europe, Dr. Michelfelder, with the generous consent of the Lutherans, became the director of this division of service.

Representatives of the Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid have personally visited the countries whose Churches need help—France, Holland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Finland, Italy, Germany, Poland, Austria,

Hungary. Representatives of these and other Churches are constantly coming to the office of the Department. It has become the one place where the needs of the European Churches as a whole are seen in relation to the combined resources of the Churches that are able to help.

The objectives of the Department of Reconstruction fall into two major classifications. The first has to do with the rehabilitation of the Churches themselves in their evangelistic, educational, and social work. It includes the provision of temporary places of worship in communities where the ravages of war have left none, assistance in training for the depleted ranks of the ministry, the strengthening of institutions of Christian social service, and the provision of Christian literature in areas in which it had almost disappeared during the war. The other objective is physical relief to the hungry, the sick, the ill-clad, the cold, and the suffering. In Germany, for example, the *Hilfswerk* of the Evangelical Church is enabled to carry on most of its remarkable work as a result of supplies channeled through the World Council from the Churches of other lands that are in a more favored situation.

From the long-range view, perhaps the most encouraging thing on the World Council's horizon is the plan for the "Ecumenical Training Centre for Christian Leadership"—the fruit of Dr. Visser 't Hooft's vision. Underlying the plan is the conviction that the central need in Europe is the raising up of Christian leadership. The leadership envisaged is not merely that which knows how to work in traditional patterns in a Christian environment but one which is able to enter imaginatively into a non-Christian situation, build there strong centers of Christian influence, and achieve for Christianity a penetration into all the areas of community life. This is, of course, especially called for in a country like Germany in which there has been a deliberate attempt at de-Christianization; but it

must not be forgotten that the effects of pagan philosophies are widely felt likewise over other parts of the Continent.

The Ecumenical Training Centre is not conceived primarily as a theological institution for future ministers but as a Christian community in which young laymen and women live in an atmosphere and under a spiritual regimen which would lead to their acquiring an evangelistic spirit grounded in an understanding both of Christianity and of the world, as a preparation for bearing a vital Christian witness in their various vocations. Constantly in mind will be the hosts of people who have lost all touch with the Christian Church or who do not realize the significance of Christianity for the total life of the community.

There are no formal requirements as to previous education or as to the length of residence in the Training Centre. The program is arranged in units of three months each, with the hope that many of the students will be able to stay for three such periods. The curriculum includes Bible study, the Christian message, Christian evangelism and Christian education, the relation of the Christian Gospel to social and political life, contemporary movements of thought and social forces with which the Church must reckon, and the ecumenical Church.

The headquarters for the Ecumenical Training Centre is the Chateau de Bossy, overlooking Lake Geneva, a few miles from the city. When its first session opened in October, 1946, under the direction of Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, of Holland, it enrolled thirty-seven students from fifteen different countries. During the first session, the central interest was in the training of lay leaders. The second session is oriented to the interest of theological students; the third, to the training of leaders in Christian youth work. This pattern will probably be followed each year.

The chief objective of the Training Centre is a rebirth of

dynamic Christianity in Europe. But while the immediate focus of attention is Europe, it is hoped that among the students who may be living together at the Centre at any time there will always be American, Oriental, and still other Christians, so that the whole program will be carried on in a truly ecumenical fellowship and drawn on the experience and insights of the universal Church.

Soon after the war there were pleas from several quarters that the Council inaugurate some plan for kindling the imagination of young people with a vision of the ecumenical Church and its significance in the post-war world. It was urged with much force that in bidding for the loyalty of youth the Church must not leave the initiative to secular movements. Preliminary conversations among representatives of several organizations in the field of work with young people, looking toward a second "World Conference of Christian Youth," similar in scope to the Amsterdam Conference of 1939, were begun before the end of 1945. Plans are now well under way for the Conference to be held in Oslo, July 22-31, 1947.

From the standpoint of logical sequence, such a gathering probably should follow, rather than precede, the first official Assembly of the Council, but practical considerations seemed to call for a youth conference without waiting for the more formal structure of the World Council to be completed. Young people do not remain young for many years and, if the appeal of the ecumenical Church does not claim their attention before they become absorbed in the responsibilities of adult life, they may never see the Church in terms large enough to command their allegiance.

The time has come, however, for definite planning for the first assembly of the World Council, as provided in the constitution. On the one hand, it is desirable to establish the Council on a fully representative and official basis as soon as possible.

It is also desirable that the Assembly meet soon enough to take advantage of the enhanced expectations for the Church that have arisen in many countries as a result of the witness of the Church during the war. On the other hand, the date must not be so early as to preclude processes of thoroughgoing study and the effective focusing of thought and prayer in all the Churches on the life-and-death issues in the relation of Christian faith and life to the world. It would be a grave error to allow so little time for preparation that the Assembly would be less meaningful than the Oxford or Edinburgh Conference of 1937. In the present chaos of civilization, no one could be satisfied with a meeting which dealt only with the internal, organizational problems of the Council and did not wrestle with some of the basic questions which the desperate state of the world presents to the Church.

With these considerations in mind, the date for the holding of the first Assembly has been fixed for August 22 to September 5, 1948. The place is to be in Holland, in the hospitable city of Amsterdam. The indications are that it will be the most representative conference of non-Roman Churches since the Reformation.

The Assembly will have a dual function. In the first place, it will be responsible for a great number of highly important organizational decisions connected with the establishment of the Council under its permanent constitutional structure. The second function will be to provide for gathering the results of extensive ecumenical studies in some of the fields of most urgent concern to the Churches of the world.

The general theme of the study program in preparation for the Assembly is "Man's Disorder and God's Design." This over-all subject is divided into four parts. The first has to do with "The Universal Church in God's Design," and will be concentrated on the nature and significance of the Church as

an ecumenical society. The second sub-theme is "God's Design and Man's Witness," dealing with the evangelistic and missionary aspect of the Church. The third topic is "The Church and the Disorder of Society," including a diagnosis of the state of society and the relation of the Church to social reconstruction. The fourth topic, "The Church and World Order," will be concerned with the function of the Church in political and international affairs.

The greatest question which the World Council must now answer—not in a theoretical manner but in the processes of its daily life—has to do with the essential genius of the Council itself. Is it to be primarily concerned with the relations of the Churches to each other, or is its chief emphasis to be on the relation of the Church to the world at large? A strong case can be made for the latter alternative. The chaos in international affairs, the disintegration of moral standards in society, the tragic secularization of life, the alarming possibilities of an era of atomic power, are all a clarion summons to the World Council to address itself to the public mind in an effort to make a direct Christian impact upon the world.

But the painful question arises whether the Churches have sufficient unity among themselves to enable them to speak to the world in a way which will command any hearing. Until they can demonstrate, in their relationship with each other, the reality of the Christian truths which they recommend to the nations, can the Council expect the world to give heed? This consideration lends a desperate urgency to the Ecumenical Movement. The Churches must speak to the world but they cannot do so with power until they have shown in their own life the reality of a fellowship which can bind peoples of diverse traditions, races, and nations firmly together.

From this dilemma there is no easy road of escape. The Churches can not wait to speak until their own internal prob-

lems have been fully solved; yet they can not speak convincingly until they have come nearer to a solution of those problems. The World Council must therefore develop the two lines of responsibility at the same time. But, for the sake of having a voice that will carry moral authority, the primary emphasis must be laid on the Churches' achieving the kind of fellowship among themselves which will offer clear promise that through Christ the unity of mankind is possible.

